AP
2
N37

JOHNSON CITY TN
THE SHERROD LIBR
PERIODICALS LIBR
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
TN
OCT 14 1985

The Nation.

October 12, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

THE YEARS WITH WHITE

E.B. White, who died last week at 86, was a New Yorker in the most graceful way: he had the presence of mind, the sense of humor and the instinct for survival to spend most of his time in Maine. In his fanciful books and sensible essays he set a tone not only for *The New Yorker*, which indelibly bears his mark, but also for a gently moral metropolitan style which informed the conscience of his time. Better than anyone, White mixed visions of nature with aspects of culture to produce a uniquely humane text which was his life as much as his work.

How might White have parsed the fractious elements of another prominent New Yorker's style—that of the irrepressible, irresponsible and, as far as we can tell, irredeemable Mayor Ed Koch? Koch was begging for an analysis when he attacked certain public-school teachers for mispronouncing the word "ask," as in "I *axed* the Mayor why he cannot resist making racist insults in a city seething with ethnic tensions?" Style isn't everything, but as White suggested by example, it is itself a matter of substance. Koch can't complain publicly about people's pronunciation without demeaning the society in which they live. No tickee no washee! Pasta fazool! Oy gevalt! It's either funny or it's mean, and the Mayor wasn't kidding.

William Shawn, the editor of *The New Yorker*, said of White, "He never wrote a mean or careless sentence." Metropolitan language has largely lost its humane syntax, as metropolitan life has lost its conscience. Koch stood White on his head, mixing metaphor and malice to produce a new kind of urban provincialism. White wrote of the spider in *Charlotte's Web*, "It is not often that someone comes along who is a true friend and a good writer." White was both, in the public sense, and there are few others who still survive.

THE MISSING DEBATE
Stephen F. Cohen

TERRORISM COURSES
Bruce Shapiro

BIOREGIO[illegible] POLITI[illegible]
Kirkpatrick Sale

GINNY FOAT
Catharine R. Stimpson

'VANITY FAIR' PEOPLE
Henrietta Stackpole

THE THAW COLLECTION
Arthur C. Danto

REPENT NO MORE

THE RETURN OF THE RED SQUADS

FRANK DONNER

Police repression in the United States follows a unique cyclical pattern. First, a wave of alleged subversion gives rise to abuses. When the fear recedes we are confronted with evidence that the practices violate the fundamental norms by which we have agreed to live as a people. And so steps are taken to stop them and prevent their repetition. But memory fades, and the old practices are renewed.

Indications are that another repentance cycle is ending and that police surveillance of political groups exercising their right to dissent is on the rise. The record shows that county sheriffs as well as urban and state police in Connecticut, Michigan, California, Florida, Georgia, Arizona and elsewhere are resuming practices that were widely condemned in the 1970s.

The cycle now ending began in the 1960s. In response to the wave of protest, intelligence units, or Red squads, stepped up their activities. By the early 1970s the backlash had set in. The cooling of political passions as the Vietnam War wound down left the police without a "threat" to exploit. Also, the media had grown more critical and had exposed previously secret practices. Finally, in some cities—notably, Chicago, Baltimore, New Haven, Los Angeles and Washington—judges, grand juries and other official bodies started investigating the excesses of local departments.

Leaks to the press, court testimony of former undercover agents and informers, statements by police officers before Congressional committees, pretrial disclosures, and documents released under freedom of information laws identified six major police abuses:

(*Continued on Page 339*)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

ANOTHER K.A.L. VIEW

Dickinson, Tex.

The depth of *The Nation*'s bias for conspiracy theorizing can be shown by its treatment of the *Defence Attaché* out-of-court settlement with Korean Air Lines over a libel suit [editorial, "K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions," Aug. 17/24]. The editorial suggested that the magazine caved in because it couldn't afford a drawn-out trial, but it neglected to point out that a second article about the K.A.L. 007 incident, in the Jan.-Feb. 1985 *Defence Attaché*, utterly refuted the piece by "P.Q. Mann," which had prompted the libel suit. The magazine's editorial board members had every reason to believe the Mann piece was factually flawed so fatally as to be indefensible in court, as shown by the rebuttal article, so they evidently decided to cut their losses. *The Nation*'s portrait of the events totally omits mention of the second and refuting article, and its role in the magazine's decision process.

Anyone interested in obtaining copies of that article may do so by sending $1 and a self-addressed stamped envelope to me, its author, at Rt. 2, Box 350, Dickinson, TX 77539. *James Oberg*

In an editorial introduction to James Oberg's article, Defence Attaché*'s editors stated that "the following is extracted from a diffuse thesis . . . it constituted his [Oberg's] response to theories advanced by P.Q. Mann and others." Not exactly a ringing endorsement. It is our information that* Defence Attaché*, a magazine with a circulation of 3,500, did not have the financial resources to fight an expensive libel case. Thames television and* The Guardian*, more affluent British institutions, are contesting similar libel actions brought by the litigious Korean Air Lines. The Editors*

ACCURACY ABOUT AIDS

Boston

Having come to expect informed and enlightened discussions on *The Nation*'s editorial pages, I was disappointed by the editorial on AIDS ["A Social Disease," Sept. 14].

Although *The Nation* has previously and accurately critiqued our nearly mystical belief that science and money can conquer all difficulties (as in the December 1, 1984, editorial "Baby Fae: A Life"), it now reverses itself by stating, "virtually every scientist and social worker fighting AIDS believes there is a direct correlation between spending money and saving lives, that it is technically possible to speed up the process of developing a vaccine to prevent the disease and producing antiviral methods to control it." I hope more funds are devoted to these efforts, but it is not clear that an infusion of money will insure success. Look at the dismal results of Nixon's War on Cancer. Unfortunately, there are no dramatic cures on the horizon.

The editorial ignores another relevant issue that has been addressed previously in your pages (for instance, in Alfie Kohn's July 20/27 editorial, "Smoking Gun"): our culture's infatuation with technological development and future cures when simple, currently known and easily available methods can effectively prevent the spread of disease now. The omission of the fact that one can avoid infection with the AIDS virus by following simple guidelines for "safe sex" and the safe use of needles and paraphernalia is analogous to ignoring cigarette smoking when discussing the cancer epidemic.

In the discussion of the HTLV-III Antibody test (the "AIDS test"), the editorial promulgates a glaring misconception. It is likely that the most contagious individuals are either those who do not yet demonstrate the symptoms of AIDS or those who, while they will never develop the disease themselves, have acquired the virus and remain highly infectious. These people almost uniformly have "AIDS antibody" present (i.e., a positive test result). The Army's use of the AIDS test might well be homophobic or aimed at avoiding the induction of drug users; however, to imply that a positive test result reveals only sexual preference, and not the presence of "any health hazard" (i.e., contagiousness), is inaccurate. On the other hand, the test has little clinical relevance for the individual: it reveals exposure to a virus, not whether one has or will ever acquire the disease. The political and social implications of the AIDS test are vast and, indeed, medical and ethical clarification is desperately needed before testing is implemented for uses beyond preventing contamination of the blood supply.

I agree that this disease has raised homophobia to new heights (or new lows, as it may be). The implications of current Federal policies—led by Margaret Heckler, who opened the Atlanta AIDS conference last May by urging the medical community to stop AIDS before it could get into the "normal population"—are clear and need no elaboration.

As most of my time is spent caring for AIDS patients and attempting to prevent both its spread and the spread of panic among health workers, I urge you to promote accurate information about this disease. I also urge support for: (1) educational programs to promote safe sex in all segments of society, both gay and straight; (2) a repeal of laws preventing the nonprescription sale of needles and syringes; (3) an increase in available treatment slots in methadone programs for those addicts who wish to avoid the risk of AIDS as well as other perils of drug addiction; and (4) the institution of effective, realistic drug and sex education in our schools, as this is the age at which sexual activity and drug use begin.

David Witt, M.D.
Department of Infectious Diseases
Boston Department of Health and Hospitals

Of course there's no easy technological fix. But one doesn't have to mystify the powers of science to see that the more money spent, the more attention given and the more support offered on the various medical, social and political fronts, the faster the results. The Editors

SEX CHANGE

Manchester, N.H.

In his September 21 article, "Still the Best Hope for Peace," Marcus Raskin included the phrase "as Alva Myrdal . . . pointed out in his book." A woman as important in the international feminist and antimilitarist community as Alva Myrdal—a Nobel Prize winner, no less—deserves better. I assume this was an oversight, but it is the kind of error that perpetuates the myth that world affairs concern only the activities of great men.

Elizabeth Cazden

CLARIFICATION

In Jon Wiener's reply to a letter in the September 28 issue he reported that the American Historical Association decided not to publish Henry Turner's advertisement "on advice of the association's counsel." Wiener has learned that the last word should have been "council," the association's governing body which makes policy decisions.

PAGE ONE AWARD

We are pleased to announce that Stephen F. Cohen has won the Newspaper Guild's 1985 Page One Award in the category of "Feature Writing, Columns" in a magazine. The Guild's judges called Cohen's monthly column, "Sovieticus," a "unique and valuable contribution to magazine journalism. . . . Cohen brings to his analyses a keen critical perception, vast knowledge—and most noteworthy—a lucid style that makes his informed comments accessible to the nonspecialist reader."

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 241, Number 11

LETTERS
330

EDITORIALS
329 The Years With White
331 Heckler Heave-ho
332 Nuclear Bargains
333 Desperate Politics — *Pat Aufderheide*

COLUMNS
334 Minority Report — *Christopher Hitchens*
335 Sovieticus — *Stephen F. Cohen*

ARTICLES
329 Repent No More: The Return of the Red Squads — *Frank Donner*
336 Political Ecology: Bioregionalism—A Sense of Place — *Kirkpatrick Sale*
344 Teaching Cops About Terrorism — *Bruce Shapiro*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
347 Foat: Never Guilty, Never Free — *Catharine R. Stimpson*
352 It's a Small *W* — *Henrietta Stackpole*
354 Art — *Arthur C. Danto*

Drawings by Monica Incisa

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editor,* Judith Long; *Carey McWilliams Fellow,* Micah L. Sifry; *Editorial Secretary,* Marpessa Dawn Outlaw; *Interns,* Gwen Bondi (Washington), Richard Cranmer, Vania Del Borgo, Ted Jin, Robert Morrissey, Jim Naureckas, Joseph R. Puterbaugh, Margo Schneidman; *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Christopher Bille, Carl Gottesman; *Nation Associates,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation,* Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publications date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation,* 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Heckler Heave-ho

Margaret Heckler is an unlikely liberal heroine. A mainstream Republican Representative from eastern Massachusetts, she veered sharply rightward in 1982 to wage a mucky campaign against Democrat Barney Frank for a newly reapportioned seat, fashioned out of bits of both candidates' old districts. Heckler lost badly; it was a recession year and Republicans generally fared poorly in Rust Belt regions. But the political winds that winter blew some good for Heckler. The factors that contributed to her defeat also made her an attractive choice for the vacant secretaryship of the Department of Health and Human Services, the prime target of liberal attacks because of cuts in everything from food stamps to Medicare. Heckler became the Reagan Administration's first female Cabinet member with a department to run, and the middle woman between those seeking government welfare and those cutting it back.

Once on the job, Heckler's moderation often seemed more like facilitation. Although she used compassionate language to describe the plight of the poor, the hungry and the sick, she remained a Reagan loyalist where it counted: appropriations. She declared AIDS the nation's "number one health problem," but she failed to follow up her words with money to fight the disease or care for its victims. She virtually abandoned Medicare to the Office of Management and Budget, which worked its miserly will directly with program managers, bypassing the Secretary's office. When Heckler refused to coordinate policy with her designated deputy, a California Reaganaut named John Svahn, the President's men installed him in the White House, where he made important decisions over her head. Still, she continued

OC 14 85 The Sherrod Library East Tennessee State University

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to follow the Administration's course, giving most of the breaks to private industry in food and drug regulation cases, opposing abortion and public aid thereto and rationalizing the draconian cutbacks imposed on welfare programs as necessary to the wider corporate health of the country.

But still she was thought of as a liberal, perhaps more for the nature of her role than the way she was playing it. A secretary of H.H.S. would have to act like the Wicked Witch of the West to please the hard-core cons, neocons and borderline crackpots making social policy in the White House these days, and Heckler's hat just didn't fit. Besides, her grotesquely messy divorce made Nancy Reagan squirm, and even her supporters acknowledged that the $330 billion-a-year business of welfare management was out of control. She became an embarrassment on every front, and Donald Regan finally had to wield his hatchet.

There may be a lesson here in the sad and sometimes silly story of Margaret Heckler's decline and fall, but it is hard to discern its meaning for public welfare. Easier to see is the message for the Administration, which is that only dedicated ideologues need apply for government jobs. Secretary of the Interior James Watt, beloved of the right, practically had to give Yosemite Valley to a condo developer before Reagan would ease him out. Heckler carried out the President's policies but she did not advocate his politics with sufficient zeal, and in the absence of the malice aforethought appropriate to all dealings with the poor and deprived, she was shown the door. It was a most unceremonious can, even though the President stood her beside him at a special press conference and announced that her appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Ireland was a reward for the "fine job" she had done. Ireland? That's the place to which Reagan would like to banish Tip O'Neill, or at best an obscure fat cat who's been making a nuisance of himself. He didn't even observe the diplomatic courtesy of first asking the Irish government if Heckler would be acceptable. No wonder the Irish were grumbling last week that their country has become a dumping ground for Don Regan's enemies.

Nuclear Bargains

Huey Long, the Governor of Louisiana, once said that Henry Luce, the editor in chief of *Time*, was "like a man that owns a shoe store and buys all the shoes to fit hisself." The description is apt for Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev in their roles as proprietors of the world's great military establishments. They stock only what pleases their fancy and offer to sell only what they cannot profitably use.

The history of arms negotiations over the past several years reads like a list of loss leaders and bad bargains. The Russians have offered to dismantle some old missiles in Europe and move others out of the way, but they obviously would do nothing to dent their offensive capability in any theater. The Americans have asked for reductions in arms that are more important to Soviet strategy than to the West's. Gorbachev's recent announcement of a nuclear testing moratorium might be inconvenient to his country's research and development programs, but it would be devastating to the Reagan Administration's Star Wars research and antisatellite development. Even the SALT agreements, hallowed as they are in the liturgy of peace activism, accepted the bulging warehouses of U.S. and Soviet strategic arms and rationalized their growth and deployment so as to limit unfair competition between the two leading members of the holocaust cartel.

But although both powers want to protect their inventory, there is an important difference in the way they are entering the current phase of arms negotiations, not only the formal sessions in Geneva but the "public relations round" leading up to the November summit. The different approaches spring from dissimilar positions, from power shifts that upset the military balance of the 1970s which was at the basis of SALT.

The Reagan Administration has destabilized the nuclear relationship, not only with its forward-based Euromissiles but, more radically, with its Star Wars and antisatellite initiatives. In a frightening series of reports which appeared recently in the *Los Angeles Times*, Robert Scheer analyzed the theory, history and development of Star Wars and concluded that it is primarily an offensive system aimed at Soviet satellites, which could facilitate an American first strike against Soviet missiles. A report by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment took a similar view when it charged that, at most, Star Wars could protect the U.S. nuclear arsenal, which is another way of protecting first-strike capability. The report expressed doubt that population centers could be defended against incoming missiles, or that the ultra-high-tech "umbrella" Reagan promised when he announced his Star Wars initiative two and a half years ago could be anything more than a Hollywood dream. Scheer quoted two hawks on that impossible dream. Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger said there "is no realistic hope that we will be able ever again to protect American cities," and William Perry, a former Pentagon official, added, "Too bad it's a fantasy."

But if the umbrella is an illusion, the offensive elements of the initiative are real and threatening, and Gorbachev is obliged to seek diplomatic means to lessen the danger. That certainly accounts for the set of proposals he gave the negotiators at Geneva. Before they get swamped in technical arguments, verification theory and numerical obfuscation, the Soviet proposals should be seen as a serious offer to re-establish strategic parity and thus reformulate great power détente based on deterrence.

No one is yet tempted to try unilateral disarmament; no one is willing to give away more than he gets; no one is selling sizes that don't fit or fashions that don't please. But a bargain is possible, and it's only available for a short season. It depends more than anything on Reagan's willingness to scale down Star Wars to the laboratory level of Strangelovian fantasies, to cut his appropriations along with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his ambitions for testing and ultimately deploying the system and to accept the incontrovertible fact that survival is more important than superiority.

Desperate Politics

La Paz, Bolivia

"I don't care if I die of hunger here. It's better than dying of hunger at home," the peasant woman said, pulling a blanket tighter around her shoulders as she sat in the university auditorium. A member of the Nationwide Federation of Housewives, she was one of thousands of demonstrators who came to this city last month to oppose the government's state of siege with the only weapon available to them—a hunger strike. The protest was an ugly confrontation between poverty and state power.

In 1982, Bolivia, the poorest nation in Latin America, ended eighteen years of brutal military dictatorship by electing a fragile center-left coalition government. The new leaders inherited the wreckage of a thirty-year effort to construct a populist state with a political base among peasants, who were bought off with small parcels of land; industrial workers, whose union, the Bolivian Workers Central (C.O.B.), at times exercised quasi-governmental powers; and functionaries of state enterprises like the petroleum company. Wracked by internal feuds, the coalition government was unable to deal with galloping inflation, which reached more than 14,000 percent this year; the fluctuating price of tin, one of the country's chief exports, on the world market; and the growing cocaine traffic, whose millionaire beneficiaries erected mansions in La Paz while the slums around the city swelled with peasants who preferred urban poverty to rural starvation.

These economic woes precipitated elections this July in which leftist parties carried little weight. For president, the leading candidates were two shopworn politicians, Victor Paz Estenssoro and Gen. Hugo Banzer Suárez. A parliamentary juggle put Paz, whom many progressives supported as the lesser of two evils, in the presidential palace.

Shortly after taking power, Paz announced a package of drastic economic reforms. These included a 1,300 percent currency devaluation floating the peso and pegging it to the dollar; a wage freeze; decontrol of commodity prices; abolition of subsidies that had kept down the price of food, medicine and transportation; and decentralization of state-owned enterprises. Paz also pledged to renegotiate payment on Bolivia's international debt, suspended in April 1984.

Although the U.S. Embassy issued a statement expressing support for Paz's program, leftist critics called it a reprise of policies that had failed disastrously in Chile and Argentina. "The problem," wrote one commentator, "is not how much the dollar costs but getting a full-employment policy." Many middle-class people disagreed, as the peso stabilized.

For the poor, however, Paz's program will mean even greater suffering. The husband of the peasant woman taking part in the September strike earns $9 a month at a part-time job. Without subsidized public transportation, bus fares alone could cost him $16 a month. Even if he got a full-time job at the minimum wage, his salary would not be enough to buy food for five people, not to mention the fuel to cook it.

In the days after Paz announced his austerity program, the C.O.B. called for a general strike and the restoration of all subsidies. The union's power to shut down industry had blocked the government from instituting austerity measures in the past. This time, however, the union miscalculated. The strike was supported in the tin mines, where the union is strongest, but it received little backing from clerical workers and schoolteachers. In rural areas, where many small farmers were profiting from decontrolled prices for their produce, the response was mixed. And the middle class criticized the union for playing obstructionist politics as usual.

The union also underestimated the government's determination. Paz refused to negotiate or even meet with C.O.B. representatives and curtly dismissed the Catholic Church's offer to mediate. The C.O.B. lacks political allies in the legislature to voice its demands or propose alternatives. Paz has capitalized on that weakness and appears resolved to break the union once and for all.

The C.O.B. was forced to resort to the politics of desperation. Early in September it called a massive hunger strike. Thousands of people in factories and offices joined the protest. The government responded with force. At 3 A.M. on September 19, tanks started moving into position at key streets to prevent demonstrators from setting up roadblocks. By 8 A.M. television announcers were nervously reading the terms of the state of siege. Over the next two days, hundreds of strike leaders, including C.O.B. executive secretary Juan Lechín Oquendo, were seized and sent to prisons in the north. Hundreds more went into hiding.

For the moment, Paz's tactics appear to be working, but a victory for him won't resolve the economic crisis. Soldiers can round up demonstrators, but they can't find jobs for a family of five. The miners will remain a center of opposition, as the economic measures produce what union leaders call a "silent massacre." Even the support of the middle class is likely to fade once the monetarist medicine starts shrinking its purchasing power. And repressive measures won't increase production or exports to the extent needed to meet the country's crushing debt payments.

The failure of the unions and the political parties to block Paz's power play shows how frail democracy is in this country after years of dictatorship, proliferating bureaucracy, political corruption and in-fighting on the left. The success of Paz's strong-arm tactics reveals the weakness of Bolivia's political institutions, not the popularity of his program.

PAT AUFDERHEIDE

Pat Aufderheide is a freelance writer based in Washington. She recently returned from a three-month trip in Latin America.

UTSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

A small but significant element in the gruesome ritual of Reagan's Washington is the regular business of certification. Punctually every year, the Administration has to return to Congress to testify that, say, the death squads in El Salvador are behaving themselves better, the Turks in Cyprus are showing signs of flexibility, the South Africans are responding well to the "constructive engagement" treatment. Since the purpose of these reports and testimonials is to obscure reality, and since reality is stubborn, and since the reports have to come out every year, the making of them, or, better, the fabrication of them, has become a minor bureaucratic art form.

I imagine that in the little brotherhood of testimonial-fabricators, the Guatemala assignment is considered testing indeed. A successful fabricator may look at the job with apprehension, sensing it to be beyond his feeble powers but sensing, too, that success in this case will mean promotion. And the evidence is that the Administration has put some of its most mettlesome euphemists and obfuscators on the Guatemala desk. There is gloom among this mendacious fraternity today, because they have been caught red-handed by Holly Burkhalter of Americas Watch. Her sparkling report "Guatemala Revised" is a minor triumph in the long battle against official deceit. It does not merely expose the untruth; it shows how the fabrication is done. Here's how.

Taking office during Gen. Fernando Romeo Lucas García's sanguinary term, Reagan dispatched Gen. Vernon Walters to Guatemala. Walters announced: "The Reagan Administration wants to modify its Central America policy. Friends are friends. The others are the others." Pursuing this line, Stephen Bosworth, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, told a hearing of a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee in 1981 that there had been some "positive" developments: "The Guatemalan security forces have made inroads in guerrilla operations. And they have done it while taking care to protect innocent bystanders." In a negation of the factual record that approaches the heroic, Bosworth went on to claim that "they have formulated a very comprehensive program to try to improve the lot of the Guatemalan Indians who live in some of the more backward areas, and the army does have a program of civic action." As every independent report from the country has demonstrated before and since, the only true words in that statement are the fourth, the fifth, the sixth and the seventh.

This remained the official line until March 1982, when Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt commandeered the state machinery in a military coup. Eager to keep up the flow of aid, the Administration sent Bosworth to testify once more. In July of that year he told another House subcommittee, "I cannot emphasize strongly enough the favorable contrast between the current human rights situation in Guatemala and the situation last December. . . . Under the previous government we did not provide military assistance because of the human rights record." The second of those statements is a flat lie, but note the condemnation of Lucas García. This was made more explicit a few weeks later, when Melvin Levitsky, an Assistant Secretary in the State Department's human rights office, told the same committee that "the history of our recent relations with Guatemala, particularly under the Lucas García regime, demonstrates that the United States cannot easily sustain a relationship with a government which engages in violence against its own people." What happened to Lucas García's "program of civic action"?

Once again Bosworth, this time on Ríos Montt: "The government has reduced political violence, particularly in urban areas. . . . No specific charges of government torture have been brought to our attention. . . . the record of the past four months, while not perfect, demonstrates that the new government has a commitment to positive change and new opportunity in Guatemala." In December 1982 the President of the United States chimed in, saying that Ríos Montt was "a man of great personal integrity" who "wants to improve the quality of life for all Guatemalans." Reagan added that on human rights the general (who proclaimed on Guatemalan television that he had "declared a state of siege so that we could kill legally") was getting "a bum rap." Levitsky, Thomas Enders and the others all dutifully squawked the new line until August 1983, when Ríos Montt was deposed by Gen. Oscar Humberto Mejía Victores.

Are you ready? Hoping to keep up the good work with Mejía Victores, the Reaganites returned to Congress and proclaimed that "the situation has improved." Elliott Abrams, then the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, took a part in selling the new policy, and the State Department country report spoke sternly of the bad years of Ríos Montt, "when there were many allegations of abuses against Guatemala's Indian population, some of which were confirmed." The report also frowned on Ríos Montt's special tribunals (described by the U.S. Embassy as "streamlined" when he set them up) and was candid about his failure to prosecute officers for atrocities.

I need hardly add that as of this past March, according to J. Edward Fox, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, "democracy is on track in Guatemala. . . . The overall human rights situation in Guatemala has also improved, and the trends are encouraging."

Before the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, its official press depicted Hafizullah Amin as a wise and compassionate leader, beloved by his people and firmly grasping the helm of democratic revolution. After the arrival of Soviet troops in Kabul and the untimely death of the aforesaid Amin, it was discovered by *Pravda* that he had been a torturer, murderer and foreign intelligence agent all along. Even the leaders of several Western Communist parties rebuked the Soviet Union for insulting the intelligence of its hearers with this breathtaking reversal. I'm not suggesting "moral equivalence" here. The U.S. government has fallen *below* the standards employed by the cheapest Stalinist hack.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOVIETICUS.

STEPHEN F. COHEN

The greatest failure of American democracy today is the absence of a real national debate on U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union. No international or domestic issue is more important, and nothing in the foreseeable future—including the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting—will change that fact. In the nuclear age, the nature of the U.S.-Soviet relationship is a matter of global survival. And as government defense-related spending soars toward $400 billion a year, cold war relations increasingly and inescapably erode the quality of American life, from education and Social Security to urban housing and agriculture.

Despite all these ramifications, President Reagan's cold war policy has gone essentially unchallenged in the political mainstream for almost five years. Critics have lamented the Administration's extremist rhetoric, protested some of its weapons programs and doubted its commitment to arms control. But not one influential group or institution has mounted a sustained opposition to Reagan's militarized approach to the Soviet Union, either by rejecting its underlying political premises or by offering the only alternative, a broad policy of détente.

As a result, in contrast to wide-ranging controversies over other issues, mainstream discussion of U.S.-Soviet relations is narrow and superficial. It fixates on trivial or secondary matters, such as presummit "public relations" and the efficacy of yet another weapons system, while avoiding fundamental questions about the long-term goal of American policy. Is it to live peacefully with the Soviet Union as an equal superpower? To roll back Soviet power in the world? To destroy the Soviet system? No coherent policy is possible without answers to these and other questions about the kind of relationship the United States wants. They are not even being discussed.

The entire American political spectrum bears responsibility for this failure of the democratic process. The right is mindlessly committed to cold war, including military build-up, as an eternal virtue. The left is instinctively opposed to the arms race but has no ideas for achieving the broader political accords needed to end it. And the vaunted "bipartisan center" wishes only to stand safely somewhere between them.

More specifically, there is the baneful role of the national media, the Democratic Party and the legion of professional foreign policy intellectuals. Each has some capacity, as well as duty, to broaden and deepen public discourse about U.S.-Soviet relations. Not one has done so.

Ten years ago, newspaper editorial pages and network television programs regularly featured proponents and opponents of détente. Now, overwhelmingly, they present only representatives of the cold war right and the center, typically a supporter of the Administration and a self-described "defense Democrat." In addition, the recent practice, as on ABC's *Nightline*, of casting a Soviet official in the role of primary anti-Reagan spokesman implies that there is no legitimate American position anywhere between them.

The media's culpability may be mostly passive, but nothing so kind can be said about the Democratic Party. Even though Reagan's military expenditures have savaged the party's social programs, it offered no alternative to his Soviet policy in 1984 and seems determined not to do so in future elections. One party politician and adviser after another has rejected an electoral platform based on détente, which is necessary to free funds for social progress, clamoring instead for a more anti-Soviet, pro-defense program. If a cold war manifesto by liberal Representative Stephen J. Solarz, in *The New York Times* on June 20, is any indication, that program will be a replica of Reagan's.

Nor can anything positive be said in this respect about foreign policy intellectuals with access to the media and to the Democratic Party. If such people have a useful function, it is to think unconventionally and to speak more candidly than politicians. A great many policy intellectuals are sincere cold-warriors, but many others must believe in the necessity and possibility of détente, as they said openly and often in the 1970s. Why do so few of them speak out now?

The main reason is well known but rarely publicized. Like too many Congressional Democrats (and perhaps Republicans) who will not state publicly what they express privately, they are intimidated by the renewed cold war climate of political intolerance, especially on Soviet affairs.

Debate is again being stifled by censorious crusaders parading under euphemistic banners like the Committee for the Free World, Accuracy in Media and Accuracy in Academia. Once again, a galaxy of cold war publications recklessly brand anyone who dissents as being pro-Soviet, soft on Communism, a fellow traveler or an appeaser. Such intolerance has even crept into some once civil-tongued newspapers and magazines. Not long ago, a *New York Post* editorial accused ABC of "doing Yuri Andropov's job." And *The New Republic* said of a leading American expert on the Soviet Union, "With such Sovietologists, who needs the Soviets?"

And yet, given the overriding importance of U.S.-Soviet relations, it is impossible to sympathize with believers in détente who fall silent or muffle their criticism of American policy with platitudes about "bipartisan consensus," a "responsible center" and being "tough with the Soviets." Compared with the cost of political courage in other societies, the American price is cheap. Pro-détente senators who refuse to lead should step down. Policy intellectuals who prepare recipes for consumer taste should become cooks. And government officials who dissent from cold war policy only under a pseudonym, as one did in *The New York Times* in 1982, should resign.

Cold-warriors will exclaim, as they always do, "Everything is worse in the Soviet Union!" as if that should be America's standard. But no one can take pride in the fact that the nation's largest political problem is not being debated. Democratic discourse requires candor, courage and civility, and all three are woefully lacking.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

POLITICAL ECOLOGY

Bioregionalism—A Sense of Place

KIRKPATRICK SALE

It is still a new phenomenon, not more than a decade old, but bioregionalism has already opened up what I take to be important new territory in American politics and has gathered what may be fairly called a movement around it. As of now it can claim for itself more than sixty affiliated groups, a dozen regional congresses, a nascent continental organization, some fourteen regular publications, a sizable bookshelf of research and analysis—and a vision of the future unlike any other.

What makes the bioregional movement so significant is that it is putting forth, loud and clear, a message unique to our age. It argues that the planet is on the road to, perhaps on the verge of, global ecocide and that survival depends not merely on checking the abuses of the industrial system, not merely on abandoning its excesses, but on nothing less than abandoning industrial culture itself. In its place must come a culture that, by contrast, is rooted in the natural world, in harmony with natural systems and rhythms, constrained by natural limits and capacities and developed according to the natural configurations of the earth and its inherent life forms.

That signals a new sort of political project for this era, one which goes well beyond the piecemeal approach of current environmentalism, beyond even that conventional radicalism that accepts the basic assumptions of industrialism. It is complex and protean, and its staying power has yet to be tested, but at the moment it is, to my way of thinking, the most vital and far-reaching project around.

The word "bioregional" is still an unfamiliar one—you've written a book on *what*? my friends say—but there is nothing complicated about it. It comes from *bio*, the Greek word for forms of life, as in "biology" and "biography," and *regio*, Latin for territory to be ruled. Together they mean a life-territory, a place defined by its life forms, its topography and its biota, rather than by human dictates; a region governed by nature, not legislature. And if the concept initially strikes us as strange, that may be only a measure of how distant we have become from the wisdom it conveys—and how badly we need that wisdom.

Kirkpatrick Sale is the author of five books, including SDS *(Random House) and* Human Scale *(Putnam's). This article is adapted from* Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision, *published this month by Sierra Club Books.* *Copyright © 1985 by Kirkpatrick Sale.*

The implications of bioregionalism are plentiful, but there are, as I interpret it, at least four underlying concepts:

Knowing the land. The first and crucial task is to understand *place*, the specific place in which we live. The kinds of soils and rocks under our feet; the sources of the water we drink; the meaning of the different kinds of winds; the common insects, birds, mammals, plants and trees; the times to plant and harvest and forage—these are the things that must be known. The limits of its resources; the carrying capacities of its lands and waters; the treasures it holds and the treasures it withholds—these are the things that must be understood. And the cultures of the people, the human social and economic arrangements shaped by and adapted to the geomorphic ones, in both urban and rural settings—these are the things that must be appreciated.

On a more sophisticated level, we can develop a resource inventory for the region, using information from the local Forest Service to map and count the area's trees; checking hydrological surveys to determine water flows, runoffs and hydropower sites; collecting biological profiles of the native annual and perennial food plants; learning annual climatic conditions and estimating the full potentials of solar, wind and water power; and studying human land-use patterns and optimal settlement areas. Out of all that, much of it already available though not broken down on a bioregional basis, one could ultimately determine with some grandeur the natural limits of a region in which human societies must live.

Learning the lore. Every place also has a history, a record of the human and natural possibilities of the region. That must be studied with new eyes. A fountain of information is there to use if we will but tap it—as shown by the wonderful *Foxfire* books, the recent collections of Indian lore and many other compilations of oral history and folk knowledge. Earlier cultures, particularly those well rooted in the earth, knew a number of important things we are only now finding out: the value of herbal medicines, the methods and times of burning prairie grassland, the siting and building of houses for maximum passive-solar effect, the central role of women in tribal decision-making.

Developing the potential. Once the place and its possibilities are known, the bioregional task is to see how that potential can best be realized *within* the boundaries of the region, using all the biotic and geological resources to their fullest, constrained only by the logic of necessity and the principles of ecology. Self-reliance, not so much at the individual as at the regional level, is inherent in the bioregional concept. We might try to imagine just what could be done in any region if all its funds, facilities, stocks and talents were used to their fullest, limited only by the carrying capacity of the land and its ecological constraints.

Liberating the self. Although development of the region is central to the concept, bioregionalism also implies the development of individual potential. On the one hand, many external limits on personal freedom and choice would be diminished or eliminated—those of distant and imper-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sonal market forces, remote governments and bureaucracies, and unseen corporations dictating consumer choices—while in the bioregion, economic and political opportunities would inevitably open up. Also, by living closer to the land, one necessarily lives closer to the community, able to enjoy the communitarian values of cooperation, participation, sodality and reciprocity which enhance individual development. On the other hand, fully knowing the character of the natural world and being connected to it daily in a physical way provides that sense of oneness, of rootedness, that the ancients experienced and that is still a vital psychological need for the contemporary world.

One way to conceive of what all that implies—perhaps too schematic but I think useful—is to see it in terms of paradigms: on the one hand, the guiding tenets of an ecological world, and on the other, and in sharpest contrast, the inherent values of our industrial-scientific one.

	BIOREGIONAL PARADIGM	INDUSTRIAL-SCIENTIFIC PARADIGM
Scale	Region Community	State Nation/World
Economy	Conservation Stability Self-sufficiency Cooperation	Exploitation Change/Progress World Economy Competition
Polity	Decentralization Complementarity Diversity	Centralization Hierarchy Uniformity
Society	Symbiosis Evolution Division	Polarization Growth/Violence Monoculture

Obviously the task of moving from one paradigm to the other is immense, and immensely difficult, and not the stuff of months, or even of years, but of decades. It will take a considerable change in attitude before our industrial society begins to abandon the notion of controlling and remaking the world in the name of a global monoculture. It will take some time before people recognize that the project of understanding place is neither nostalgic nor utopian but rather the realistic sort of occupation anyone can participate in every day; that it has an immediate and practical chance of curbing our present waste and recklessness. I do not underestimate the complications.

Yet I am certain that in the bioregional paradigm we have a philosophy, a goal and a process by which to create a world that is not only necessary for the continuation of our species but that is also desirable and possible. However distant a reality we may regard it now, bioregionalism presents a perfectly plausible future, and the vision has the undoubted air of the practical, the doable, the achievable.

For one thing, the basic idea of a region is a matter of common consciousness and parlance: people do think of themselves as inhabiting a region. They also know that their region's environment is being assaulted and imperiled, most often by forces they do not understand and cannot control. The notion of environmental health is new in the public consciousness, but thanks, alas, to toxic wastes seeping into schoolyards, chemical spills forcing the evacuation of towns and smog "alerts" making people stay indoors, it is one of those issues that public opinion polls, as in last year's elections, show to be at the top of American concerns. Experience has shown, in the cases of the Love Canal disaster, the Clearwater project on the Hudson and the toxic-waste laws in New Jersey, that the public can be aroused and politically energized on these issues.

The second reason bioregionalism seems achievable is that, because its concepts are so basically accessible to public understanding, it can aim at people beyond the usual constituencies for social change. Not that those constituencies are insubstantial—they amount, by various estimates, to somewhere between 5 million and 10 million people—but they do not constitute a movement sufficient for the broad and thoroughgoing reshaping of this country that is necessary.

The bioregional idea has the potential to join what are traditionally thought of as the right and the left in America because it is built on and appeals to values that, at bottom, are shared by those on both sides. Conservatives and liberals have in common, for example, a belief in local control, self-reliance, town-meeting democracy, community power and decentralization. Both groups also have a profound, or at least vocal, distrust of distant and arbitrary authority and control, whether exerted by government, public utilities or corporations, and both resist imposed codes and regulations, restrictive and protective laws and the siphon of taxes on the individual purse. They share a concern for the natural world and usually have some firsthand experience with nature in the raw, whether from deer hunting or backpacking.

Third, bioregionalism is practical because it can be begun

DRAWINGS BY MONICA INCISA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

locally, with just a few people willing to study a little, talk a little, imagine a little, organize a little. As its perceptions are regional, so is its canvas; thus, the energies for its launching do not have to be exhaustive, and the resources to keep it moving do not have to be extensive. It asks nothing of the Federal government and needs no national legislation, no governmental regulation, no Presidential dispensation. What commends it especially to its age is that it does not need any Federal presence to promote it, only a Federal obliviousness to permit it.

Unlike various other political movements, bioregionalism envisions no takeover of the national government and no vast rearrangement of the national machinery. Its spirit is local and its attentions regional, and it regards questions of national scope to be, at least at this point, irrelevant. The task, after all, is to build power at the bottom, not to take it away from the top; to release the energies, the long-hidden and systematically blunted energies, of people where they live and on the issues they regularly face.

Finally, the practicality of the bioregional project is enhanced by the virtue of already having something of a movement behind it. In North America the variety of organizations already identified with bioregionalism is astonishingly broad in the range of talents, interests and activities. (One list is available from Tranet, Box 567, Rangely, ME 04970, or from Planet Drum, Box 31251, San Francisco, CA 94131.) Some, such as the Ozarks Area Community Congress, hold annual meetings to pass platforms and resolutions on specific area problems; others, such as the Institute for Social Ecology in Vermont, concentrate on educating people through conferences and seminars; still others, such as the San Antonio Bioregional Research Group and the Siskiyou Regional Education Project, make ecological inventories and promote public awareness of bioregionalism; some, such as Friends of the Trees in Washington State and the National Water Center in Arkansas, have specialized environmental interests; some, such as the Driftless Bioregional Network in Wisconsin and the Katuah Bioregional Council in the Appalachians, build networks among local organizations concerned with ecological issues. In the past two years these groups have felt secure enough in their sense of purpose to have spawned a continentwide organization, the North American Bioregional Congress (c/o New Life Farm, Box 129, Drury, MO 65638). The group held its founding meeting in May of last year and will be sponsoring its second continental congress sometime next year [see Sale, "Bioregional Green," *The Nation*, June 16, 1984].

The bioregional library is also impressive. Planet Drum has published a half-dozen books and pamphlets. Fourteen regional magazines are published with some regularity, ranging from *Rain* in Portland, Oregon (which also has published a book of bioregional analysis for the Portland area), *Tilth* in Seattle, and *Raise the Stakes* in San Francisco—all of which have been going on for more than a decade—to *Konza* in Kansas and the *Annals of Earth Stewardship* in Massachusetts, both in their second year. And there are several dozen books on issues that are more or less specifically bioregional, written by such adherents of the movement as Raymond Dasmann, Gary Snyder, Peter Berg, Murray Bookchin, Morris Berman, Jerry Mander, Gary Coates, Gary Nabhan, Jim Dodge, John and Nancy Todd, Michael Helm and Donald Worster.

Although the exact relationships are as yet unclear, the bioregional movement also takes special force as part of that worldwide movement of ecological politics that is now known almost everywhere by the single sobriquet Green. Wherever it is found Green politics is the introduction of ecological concerns into the political arena. It has emerged in nearly every industrial country in the world, and in several of them, most notably West Germany and Belgium, it has scored electoral successes with full-fledged Green parties. The West German movement in particular has attracted worldwide attention, not only for its dramatic tactics and skillful electoral strategies but also for the depth and boldness of its analysis.

In this country Green politics is still nascent, but there are already local movements in California, Oregon, Tennessee, New York, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, and in the past few years there have been several attempts to establish a nationwide network of Green-oriented organizers and groups. The Citizens Party has tried to develop a specifically Green perspective—at one point it was calling itself the American representative of the West German Greens, though it had never quite endorsed any Green policies—and at least a half-dozen other groups, from the Movement for a New Society to, *mirabile dictu*, the Yippies, share Green ideas and terminology. Last year the Bioregional Congress produced a Green caucus and, from that, a Green Organizing Committee (not a political party) with regional outposts across the country, and helped to create a national organization, the Committees of Correspondence, to refine the message and develop grass-roots support.

It will be some time before the exact form of America's Green politics works itself out, but to be successful it will perforce be regionally grounded and will understand itself as bioregionalism's political face. Eventually there may come a true bioregional politics that develops apart from—and represents a clear alternative to—the present system, but for the moment, facing the real world of industrialism's political constructs, it is Green politics, properly conceived, that offers the best chance of halting disasters, building alliances, making spaces.

It was the Serpent in the Garden, as George Bernard Shaw envisioned it, who said, "You see things; and you say 'Why?' But I dream things that never were; and I say 'Why not?'" But this business of challenging the imperiling present and dreaming of necessary futures is not really so satanic; it is, in fact, part of that very human quest for development and refinement, that need to extend visions and capabilities and lives, which has characterized the human animal from its beginnings.

All in all, the bioregional project certainly has its full measure of dreams of things that never were, but when understood in its totality, it is not in any sense fantastical or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

illusory. I do not suggest that it is inevitable, or that once begun it could not be frustrated and defeated; just that it is, without doubt, possible. And, to be sure, necessary. □

Red Squads

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

§ The targeting of groups and individuals engaged in peaceful dissent.

§ The use of surveillance, photography, mail covers, informers, wiretapping and other questionable tactics in such investigations.

§ The resort to aggressive tactics, including provocation, disruption and harassment of political protest groups; burglaries, raids and the dissemination of false information about individuals to landlords, employers and other third parties; the theft, photocopying and destruction of documents and correspondence.

§ The collection of files and dossiers on dissident groups and the dissemination of the information to other law-enforcement agencies.

§ The absence of a relationship between these practices and the legitimate police functions of law enforcement, crime prevention and maintenance of public order.

§ The resort to implausible ideological explanations, such as "national security" or "terrorism," to justify the investigations.

With the exposure of these abuses, the retreat from political intelligence operations began. Some small cities and towns simply closed them down without formal action. Larger cities often imposed restrictive guidelines on them to forestall potentially embarrassing hearings and trials. The Seattle City Council, for example, enacted an ordinance banning police practices that violated constitutional rights.

More commonly, however, redress was preceded by litigation under a variety of Federal and state laws: the Civil Rights Act of 1871, the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution and national and local freedom of information and privacy statutes. These lawsuits, at least thirty in all, were brought by individuals or groups or as class actions, and were widely followed in the press, generating public outrage and encouraging others to sue.

One of the first of these suits was brought in Memphis, Tennessee. In 1976 the Memphis Police Department and the Mayor's office had received a request from a local resident asking that he be allowed to inspect his intelligence dossier. In response, Mayor Wyeth Chandler ordered the police to burn all the files of the Domestic Intelligence Unit (D.I.U.), as the local Red squad was called, and to abolish the unit. In compliance with the Mayor's order, 180 boxes of files were reportedly destroyed on September 10, 1976, at the very time the American Civil Liberties Union was in court to obtain a restraining order to preserve the files in support of a

Frank Donner, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is the author, most recently, of* The Legacy of Haymarket: A History of Police Repression in Urban America, 1886–1896.

COME SEE
A NEW SOCIETY IN THE MAKING
VISIT NICARAGUA
SOCIO-POLITICAL PROGRAM

TROPICAL TOURS

November 23-30
STUDY TOUR
January 4-18
NICARAGUA 86
January 13-24
L. KUTER
CULTURAL TOUR
February 1-11
STUDY TOUR

Prices range from $590 to $825 and include round-trip airfare from either Miami or Mexico City, meals, hotel accommodations, guides, bilingual escorts and transportation within Nicaragua.

As the travel agency for the Nicaragua Network, Tropical Tours makes all travel arrangements for groups and individuals.

For organizations and special interest groups, we develop programs tailored to their needs.

For details contact:
TROPICAL TOURS
141 East 44th Street, Suite 409TN
New York, NY 10017
Telephone: (212) 599-1441
Outside N.Y. State call (800) 421-5040

'WERE THE ROSENBERGS FRAMED?'

This historic debate, which was sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at New York City's Town Hall on October 20, 1983, has been described as "a political-literary brawl" (Los Angeles Times), at which "a cheering, jeering crowd of 1,500 followed every jab in a fight over history" (The Washington Post).

The main participants in the debate were: Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, authors, Invitation to an Inquest; Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors, and Sol Stern, research assistant, The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth; and Elizabeth Holtzman, moderator. There were also questions and comments from Michael Meeropol, Morton Sobell, Marshall Perlin, James Weinstein, Victor Navasky and others.

A complete record of this extraordinary event can now be purchased in transcript or cassette. Transcripts are available for $24 each; cassettes are $19 each. There are special discounts on orders of five or more. Send check or money order, payable to The Nation, to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (a project of The Nation Institute).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Cockburn on the PRESS.
Andrew Kopkind on the CULTURE WARS.
Stephen F. Cohen on the SOVIET UNION.
Mindy Aloff on DANCE.
Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.
Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.
Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is not funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation*.

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation*. There's a reduced introductory rate for you. And as a gift for friends, too.

Add your voice to ours.

Special Introductory Rate for New Subscribers.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ Double my savings. Send a full year for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

D536

SEND THE NATION TO A FRIEND!
(And save $3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $____ for ____ subscription(s). (Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)
☐ Bill me later.

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D536

lawsuit brought under the Federal civil rights statute and the First Amendment. The allegations of improper surveillance were sustained by pretrial depositions of police officers in the months that followed, and embarrassing documents were unearthed in a variety of places, including the basement of a building formerly used by the Red squad.

According to one surviving memorandum, the D.I.U. had concentrated on "local subversion, disorders, civil rights activist activities, and union and Negro coalition activities." Among its targets were colleges, the Communist Party, Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), the A.C.L.U., a number of motorcycle gangs, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Black Panther Party and the Memphis Public Employees Union. To justify the snooping, D.I.U. officials had invented a potential for criminal behavior in even the most moderate organizations. One memo called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People "a fairly militant group." The D.I.U. had also gathered personal information: license plate numbers, salaries, debts, bank balances, marital status and the names of close associates, using bank records, credit checks, telephone company checks and other sources.

In September 1978 the Mayor and police officials agreed to stop the collection of intelligence on political activities protected by the First Amendment. They also pledged not to maintain a political intelligence unit, not to infiltrate legitimate political groups or harass them by spreading derogatory information and not to photograph or otherwise identify people attending peaceful gatherings.

The Memphis settlement decree spurred a movement in Seattle to curb abuses by that city's intelligence unit. In 1974 the Seattle police chief told the City Council that he had destroyed political intelligence files on some 730 subjects. The disclosure angered many civic-minded residents. To prevent the recurrence of such abuses, in September 1976 the local chapters of the American Friends Service Committee (A.F.S.C.), the A.C.L.U. and the National Lawyers Guild formed the Coalition on Government Spying, which launched a resourceful and ultimately successful campaign to ban police surveillance practices in Seattle. Public pressure generated by the coalition forced the police to release to the public documents on the functioning of its intelligence unit.

Those files revealed a wide range of snooping wholly unrelated to law enforcement. Beginning in the early 1970s, the collection of political information was ostensibly motivated by a concern with terrorism. (Several bombings had occurred in Seattle in the 1960s.) But the files were dense with misinformation and trivia. One dossier contained a copy of a letter to the editor of *The Seattle Times* about President Carter's policy on the B-1 bomber. A report on the leader of a local Chicano service organization claimed that he "was still trying to get some bombs made by an unknown U.W. [University of Washington] student and has the promise of AFSC to pay for the costs involved." (The A.F.S.C. was described elsewhere as a "national pacifist organization.")

When it was shown that the chief of the intelligence unit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had shipped a number of documents to the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, a national police network based in Santa Clara, California, to prevent them from being seized, the coalition's drive for a city ordinance gathered steam. A pamphlet stating its objectives, "Principles for Effective Legislation," was endorsed by more than fifty groups, including the League of Women Voters and the King County Bar Association. At City Council hearings in 1978, former police officers described how they had opened investigations on groups after reading about them in the newspapers. The ordinance, passed unanimously in 1979, banned political surveillance except in connection with criminal investigations and provided for a civilian auditor to check police files every six months. Another provision specifically held the city government liable for damages resulting from violation of the ordinance.

An April 1981 settlement in a Chicago police-spying suit paralleled the Seattle ordinance. It barred the police from gathering information on political activities unless there was evidence of criminal conduct. Informers and infiltrators could be used only to combat criminal activities. Other provisions of the agreement limited the compilation of dossiers on groups and individuals and prohibited the dissemination of their contents. Rejoicing over the settlement proved to be premature, however. Shortly after Judge Susan Getzendanner had signed the order, in April 1982, the Chicago police violated it by filming an antinuclear demonstration. Judge Getzendanner issued a sharp reprimand and ordered the department to comply.

Two years later another notable Chicago case was decided. A Federal District Court jury awarded $60,000 in damages to the Spanish Action Committee of Chicago, a Puerto Rican community group, after finding that police had attempted to "destroy" the group and violate its First Amendment rights by disrupting a peaceful protest. In another 1984 police-spying suit, Judge Getzendanner approved a payment of $335,000 in damages by the city to eight organizations, including the A.C.L.U., the A.F.S.C. and the Medical Committee for Human Rights, and seventeen individuals, among them the Rev. Jesse Jackson, two members of Congress and two city aldermen.

Last year in Los Angeles, victims of police spying settled for $1.8 million in damages from the city, and a trial judge ordered that investigations by the Police Department's Public Disorder Intelligence Division be based on a reasonable suspicion that the groups in question plan to disrupt public order. In March the settlement of a New York City class-action suit was widely criticized for lacking the limitations on police power that settlements and ordinances in other cities had decreed. (The lawsuit in that case was filed back in 1971 against the Special Services Division—New York's Red squad—and charged a variety of abuses, including the planting of informers, the provocation of criminal acts and illegal wiretapping.)

Despite those gains, there are signs that a new cycle of repression is beginning. Because so many cities had Red squads it is unlikely that all such operations were suspended. Last December, Richard Gutman, counsel for the plaintiffs in one of the Chicago cases, disclosed that 159 agencies, including one hundred municipal police departments, had exchanged political-intelligence file data with the Chicago police for about a decade, beginning in the mid-1960s. These so-called transmittal files, together with recent developments, suggest that political intelligence may well be revived not through the controversial Red squads but through county and state units [see Bruce Shapiro's article on page 344].

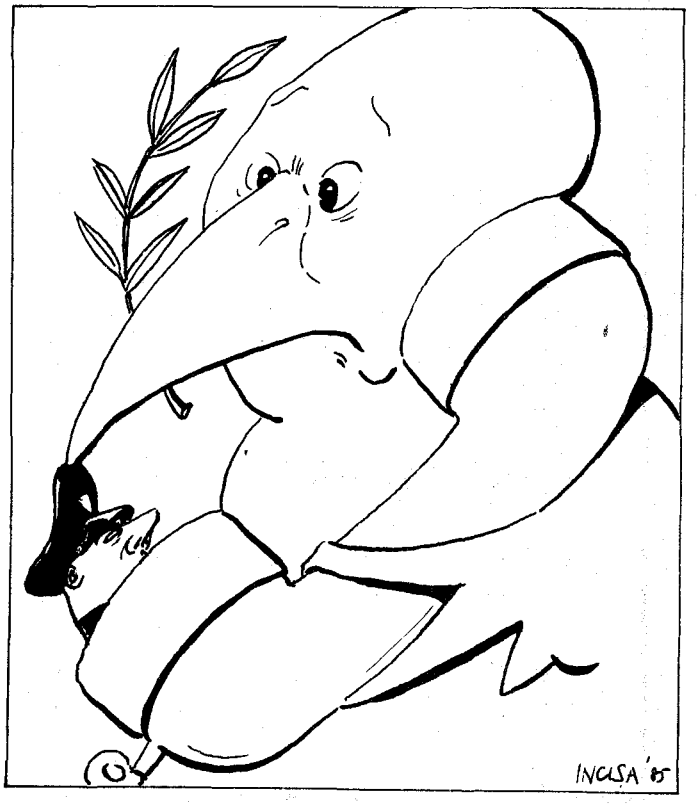
Signs of this revival are appearing in every part of the country:

§ In December 1983 the press reported that an investigator from the Orange County Sheriff's Department spent seven months under cover in the Central Florida Nuclear Freeze Campaign. The sheriff's office claimed that the freeze movement posed a danger to the county's security because several of its members had previously been arrested for civil disobedience. That same year the sheriff in Ponderosa County, Montana, assigned plainclothes officers to take photographs and copy license plate numbers of antiwar demonstrators at a missile site.

§ In 1980 the New Hampshire State Police, working with a pronuclear group infiltrated the Clamshell Alliance, a coalition opposed to nuclear power. Among the demonstrators arrested for criminal trespass was a State Police undercover agent.

§ In 1983 and 1984, under Georgia's newly enacted Anti-Terrorism Task Force Act, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation spied on demonstrators against the death penalty and infiltrated their meetings.

§ In October 1983, acting under an Arizona statute passed eight years earlier to facilitate investigations into drug traf-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ficking, the Arizona Criminal Intelligence Systems Agency deployed infiltrators in two towns where copper miners were on strike against the Phelps Dodge Company. They mingled with the strikers and attended union meetings. The agency claimed that the strike presented a "potential threat of violence." The same body planted agents in the ranks of a group protesting against the cruise missile at an Air Force base, justifying the spying as part of an investigation into "radical terrorist groups."

§ In Connecticut political surveillance for purposes unrelated to law enforcement has been routinely conducted by the State Police in the New London area, the site of a Navy laboratory, a submarine base and a General Dynamics submarine yard.

§ A favorite target is antiwar groups. In Michigan, where the State Police Intelligence Unit was officially disbanded in 1976, a group of religious pacifists, the Covenant for Peace, picketed a defense contractor in Walled Lake. The State Police assigned two undercover officers to infiltrate the demonstration. They mingled with the participants and joined in the singing and lighting of candles. After completing this assignment, they attended a church meeting in Pontiac and took notes on what was said.

§ Movements against U.S. intervention in Central America are also a popular target. Last year in Washington intelligence agents penetrated the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) to obtain intelligence on a planned sit-in at a Congressman's office [see Donner, "Travelers' Warning for Nicaragua," *The Nation*, July 6/13]. And earlier this year, in the supposedly progressive city of Burlington, Vermont, an undercover officer spied on a sit-in of the peace group Pledge of Resistance.

The revival of political surveillance is being spurred by those on the ultraright, where rooting out subversives has long been a top priority. In the 1960s police departments in most major American cities—including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and Birmingham—cooperated with right-wing groups. They exchanged information, and in some cases police helped paramilitary groups like the Minutemen evade arrest by Federal authorities. The Chicago transmittal files show that the Chicago police requested data on subversives from the Minutemen after the group's leader, Robert B. DePugh, offered them access to its records.

The look-the-other-way encouragement of right-wing violence was exhibited dramatically in the killing of five members of a Communist group by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979. According to evidence brought out this past March in a civil suit filed by relatives of those killed, Klansman Edward Woodrow Dawson became a paid informer for the Greensboro Police Department. In addition to monitoring his brethren in the Klan, Dawson attended meetings of the Communist Workers Party (C.W.P.) in Greensboro, obtaining literature and other intelligence.

Dawson told his police control, Detective Jerry Cooper, about Klan meetings at which he had helped formulate plans to disrupt a C.W.P.-sponsored anti-Klan rally and march in the city on November 3. Although Dawson informed police of the parade route and told them that a cache of guns had been placed at the Klan assembly point, officers were not stationed at the rally. Two officers followed the Klan caravan in an unmarked car and took photographs of the shooting.

The American political scene has historically been a fertile breeding ground for countersubversive turmoil, vigilantism and scapegoating during periods of social tension and political polarization. The revival of such practices is already visible in the burgeoning of 1950s-style rightist and paramilitary networks, the bombings of abortion clinics by right-to-life groups (not to mention the bombing of the Washington headquarters of the pro-choice A.C.L.U. or the threats against Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun, author of the majority decision in *Roe v. Wade*, and Justice Lewis Powell), and the private initiatives of the U.S. Council for World Freedom and *Soldier of Fortune*, which supply arms and mercenaries to the Nicaraguan *contras*, guerrillas in Angola and other conterrevolutionary forces considered friends of the West. Perhaps even more alarming is the flowering of private networks to fund the *contras* [see John Dillon and Jon Lee Anderson, "Who's Behind the Aid to the *Contras*," *The Nation*, October 6, 1984].

Finally, it should be remembered that private surveillance is not confined to right-wing extremists spying on their political enemies. Beginning in the late 1970s, public utilities, through in-house and hired operatives, have monitored organizations and individuals protesting the use of nuclear power as an energy source. These operations have frequently been launched with the cooperation of police, sheriffs' deputies and state troopers. Nor, in assessing a political surveillance threat, can we ignore the rapidly growing number of security personnel serving private industry, now reportedly exceeding that of the nation's urban police forces. History teaches us that they too can become a countersubversion militia, acting either independently or in collaboration with the police.

In our time, the triggering mechanism for a renewal of police repression could be the social unrest generated by an economic downturn, the growth of the nuclear arsenal or military intervention abroad. All that may be needed to circumvent restraints on police behavior is the mythification of the extent and gravity of the threat. Communists (or "Marxist-Leninists," their trendy replacement) are still the official enemy, but terrorism is becoming the current favorite, posing a new "threat" of subversion, violence, betrayal and overthrow, historically so effective in politicizing police functions. The question confronting us is, Are we ready for another go-around? □

EDUCATORS: USE THE NATION IN YOUR CLASSROOM. SPECIAL LOW RATES.

CALL STEPHEN SOULE (212) 242-8400.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are you one of us?

If you want to do work you adore and keep doing it long after others retire; if you threw out the old conventions on sex, sex roles and love, and are still creating your new ones; and if you want a politics that relies less on bureaucracy and more on people—then, chances are, you're one of us.

Why not find out? Take a look at the next issue of MOTHER JONES—for free.

MOTHER JONES is irreverent, bright, and bold. Like you, we haven't given up our dreams born in the 60's. But we know it takes innovative thinking and passionate commitment to translate them during the 80's.

Like you, we're on the prowl for new ideas. We find them, and we print them.

MOTHER JONES is your early warning system. We told you about: Bendectin and birth defects, years before the drug companies took it off the market . . . why there are steroids in your steak but not in Ronald Reagan's . . . the latest DES tragedy, DES sons . . . how laboratories that test your products have falsified or covered up data for years . . . the true story behind the Grenada invasion.

MOTHER JONES brings you people. After Tom Brokaw gave us a personal interview, he got into hot water with his boss at NBC . . . we profiled Geraldine Ferraro before she was nominated for Vice-President . . . In a MOTHER JONES interview Benigno Aquino assessed his chances of being assassinated just before he left on his fatal plane trip to the Philippines . . . Plus we've brought you West German peace activist Petra Kelly, science fiction writer Ursula LeGuin, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, the lost love letter of Emma Goldman, an interview with Yoko Ono.

"Perhaps a glass of water to wash down that incredible bunch of lies."

MOTHER JONES is on the cutting edge. We printed excerpts from The Color Purple, by Alice Walker, long before the book won a Pulitzer Prize . . . we've brought you Maxine Hong Kingston, Studs Terkel, Alice Adams, Kurt Vonnegut, Grace Paley, Edmund White. MOTHER JONES' award-winning, gutsy graphics have included works by Brad Holland, Sue Coe, Marshall Arisman, and international photographers like Sue Meisalas.

Bring MOTHER JONES into your life—the magazine that's as imaginative, as unpredictable and as bright as its readers.

Find out.

Start with a FREE copy.

Send me a free copy of **Mother Jones**. If I like the magazine I will pay you $12 (a 33% savings off the regular price) for a full year—nine more issues. If I decide not to subscribe for any reason, I'll just mark "cancel" on the bill and that's it—no further obligation.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ *Zip* _____

Add $3 per year, Canada; $4 per year foreign.

MOTHER JONES,
1886 Haymarket Square,
Marion, OH 43305

DJ5NA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Teaching Cops About Terrorism

BRUCE SHAPIRO

In January a message went out on New England's police teletype network: the department in New Britain, Connecticut, would host a "terrorism seminar briefing" on February 18 and 19. The course was open to "any police department wishing to enroll any full-time officers," at a cost of $125 per participant. Some two dozen officers, most of them from Connecticut but some from as far away as Maine, attended.

In April about seventy-five police officers from the Pacific Northwest gathered for a three-day terrorism conference in Boise, Idaho, sponsored by the Ada County Sheriff's Department. Over the past several years, similar courses have been offered to police in Michigan, Ohio, Arizona, California and other states, as well as in the Canadian province of Ontario.

The workshops are run by James R. Davis, proprietor of DanCor Ltd., a consulting firm based in El Cajon, California. As a law-enforcement official in California in the 1970s, Davis served under Louis Giuffrida, who held an important post in the Reagan Administration until recently. The courses have little to do with terrorism. They are devoted largely to providing information on peace groups, opponents of nuclear power, and other nonviolent, left-leaning protesters. The presentations are spiced with rabid anti-Communism and cover such subjects as infiltrating protest movements, gathering intelligence and controlling political rallies. Here are some of the topics Davis covered in his workshops in Connecticut and Idaho, as listed in the programs:

Anti-nuke organizational structure
The new peace movement
Communist front groups: "sanctuary & railroad activity"
Update: Central American groups
Intelligence tips for demonstration control
Dramatization structure of dissident groups
Use of special operations personnel [undercover officers]
Developing an associative matrix [ascertaining the names of members and leaders of suspect groups].

The workshops, which are attended mainly by small-town police officers and state troopers, feature lectures describing alleged foreign links to domestic protest movements. In Connecticut, Davis explained that Cuban spies infiltrated this country through the 1980 Mariel boat lift and that Islamic nations were orchestrating worldwide terrorism. At the workshop in Idaho, the program included the screening of *The KGB Connections*, a movie distributed by the Committee for the Free World, a neoconservative group. According to a promotional brochure, the film exposes "the entire range of KGB operations in the United States," including "disinformation in the press . . . covert support for extremist radical groups . . . [and] the recruitment of agents at the highest levels of the U.S. government." The Idaho conference also featured a one-hour lecture by an unnamed representative of the far-right American Security Council.

In contrast, Davis's Idaho workshop devoted only brief attention to violent right-wing groups like the Christian Aryan Nations—seventy-five minutes in all during the three-day session. In Connecticut the subject wasn't even on the program. Neither conference included any discussion of bombings of abortion clinics, probably the most prevalent form of political violence in the United States today.

Who is James Davis? His DanCor letterhead identifies him as a criminologist. When interviewed recently, he was reluctant to talk about his professional background in any but the most general terms, saying only that he is a Vietnam War veteran ("The war heightened my political and emotional awareness") and that he worked "for years" in law enforcement in California. He began his law-enforcement career by serving with a Southern California Red squad. In the early 1970s, while attending San Diego State University, he was on the payroll of the San Diego County Sheriff's Department. He worked as an undercover informer in student groups, according to a Connecticut police official who heard him describe the experiences. A professor at San Diego State who taught Davis confirmed the story in an interview with *The Idaho Statesman* in Boise earlier this year.

After he finished college Davis surfaced as an instructor at the California Specialized Training Institute (C.S.T.I.), a state agency founded in 1971 by then-Governor Ronald Reagan and his assistant Edwin Meese 3d. The concept of the SWAT team was developed at C.S.T.I., and police and National Guard officers from all over the country met at its headquarters in San Luis Obispo to practice tactics to be used against fictional left-wing insurgents and to gain the skills needed for spying on activists. When Reagan was elected President, Davis's boss, Louis Giuffrida, was appointed head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. He brought several C.S.T.I. officials to Washington and added terrorism and civil disorder to the agency's agenda.

Davis resigned from C.S.T.I. after Giuffrida moved to Washington, and he formed DanCor, which offers, among other things, a roadshow version of the antisubversion courses taught at C.S.T.I. Davis also kept up his ties with his former colleagues. The Idaho terrorism workshop featured a speech on "National Security Concerns" by Fred Villella, a former C.S.T.I. official, who was Giuffrida's deputy in Washington until last year, when he resigned following allegations that he had misappropriated Federal funds.

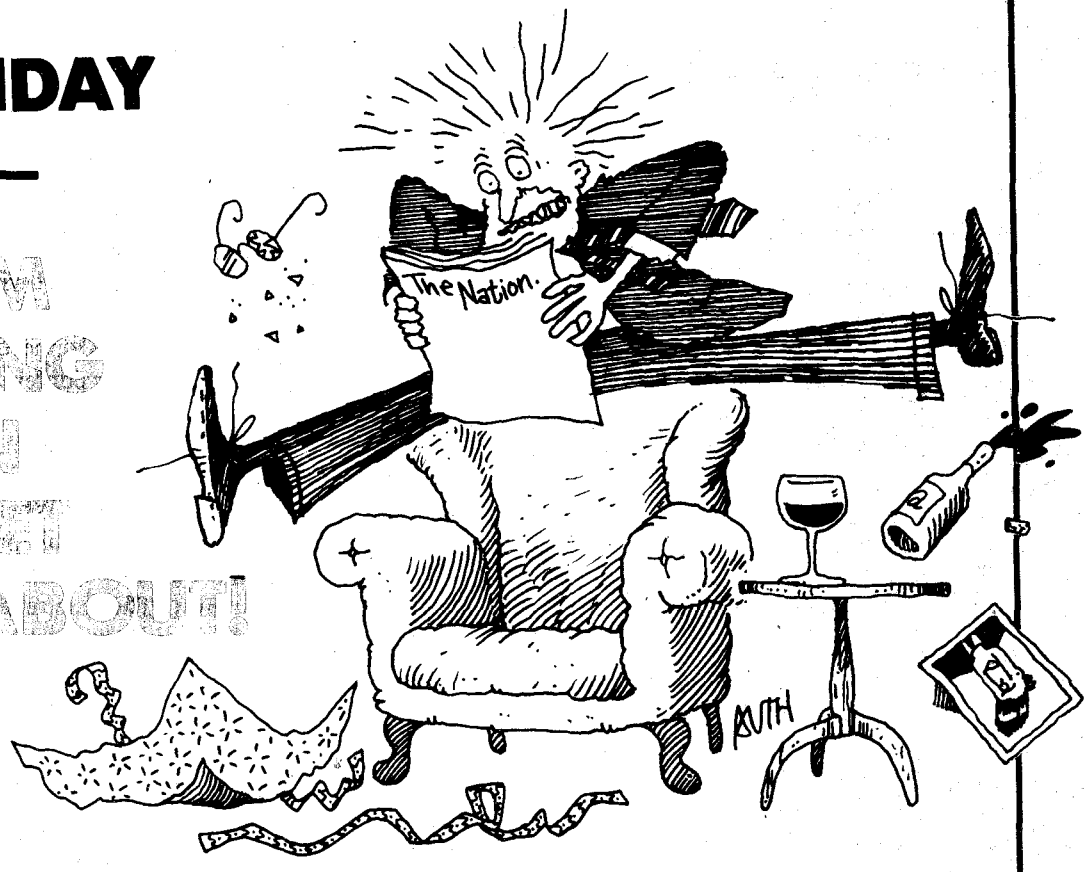
Although vague about his background, Davis gives his views on political dissent candidly. "Most periods of domestic terrorism are ushered in by periods of social instability," he says. Now "the locus of that instability is circulating around the nuclear freeze movement, the anti-nuclear power movement and the sanctuary/underground railroad movement."

Bruce Shapiro covers state politics for Fairpress, *a weekly newspaper in Norwalk, Connecticut. He is also a contributing editor of Cooperative News Service.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON—

GIVE THEM SOMETHING THEY CAN REALLY GET EXCITED ABOUT!



Give a gift Subscription To *The Nation*

Granted, if they lean a little to the right they may blow a fuse. But if they don't believe the *contras* are freedom fighters, a gift subscription to *The Nation* will be a source of excitement and truth not just at holiday time but year round.

We'll send a card announcing your gift and we'll also see that the recipients stay excited for a full year (47 issues) of *The Nation*'s hard-facts reporting and no-nonsense opinion.

SPECIAL LOW HOLIDAY GIFT RATES!

$18.50
for the first gift
(more than 50% off the regular subscription price)

$16.00
for each additional gift
(a whopping 60% discount)

More than 50% off on all gift subscriptions!

1 year—47 issues
First gift—$18.50
Each additional gift—$16.00

YOUR NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Send gift card(s) to recipient(s).
Signed _____
☐ Send gift cards to me in time for holiday giving.

Please send gift subscriptions to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Please add $7 per year, Canada; $13 per year, other foreign countries. Payment in U.S. funds only.

For additional gifts attach list.

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
Charge my: ☐ MASTERCARD ☐ VISA
Account # _____ Exp. Date
Signature _____
☐ Bill me later.

SEND TO: THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305.

MD536

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

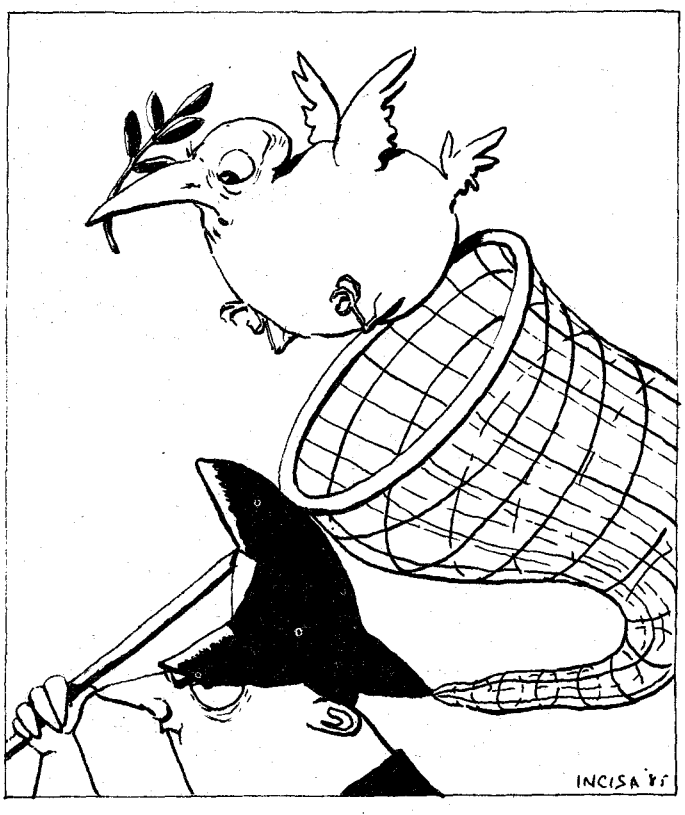
Davis says he teaches police that the participants in such movements are well-meaning but that they are manipulated by Soviet front groups, which "identify and target organizations that are peaceful, with the intent to dupe, fool and alter" them.

"They're interested in heading toward civil disorder," he says. "What I teach is how to be vigilant to those individuals who are going to alter the character of groups." Maintaining that vigilance, Davis says, involves assigning undercover police officers to monitor political meetings and demonstrations "to validate the character of groups." Such intelligence operations are essential in preventing "major civil disorder." At the same time, he insists: "I'm not after the Constitution. . . . [They] have the right to dissent. I wouldn't begin to challenge that."

When Davis discusses his theory of law enforcement, he sounds like a cousin of Howard Hunter, the gung-ho police lieutenant on television's *Hill Street Blues*. "I preach heavily the moral application of law," Davis says. "In my SWAT team class we devote a great deal of time to discussing alternatives to lethalities."

Davis's workshops occasionally have provoked a backlash. In the spring of 1983 his terrorism seminar was slated for a police education course at Harrisburg Area Community College in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Several weeks before the seminar was to take place, a copy of the program fell into the hands of Joe Sweeney, an assistant to Mayor Stephen Reed.

"When I saw it, I was outraged," Sweeney recalls. "It was essentially a program designed to provide police with an array of infiltration skills. . . . It was clearly coming from an extreme right-wing perspective." Sweeney was particularly disturbed by Davis's focus on antinuclear groups.



In Harrisburg, which is near Three Mile Island, even the Mayor is opposed to nuclear power. Sweeney showed the program to the Mayor and local activists. The seminar was eventually canceled.

Earlier this year, a brochure describing Davis's terrorism workshop in Boise was obtained by the Snake River Alliance, a local antinuclear group. The alliance, together with the Idaho chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and Ada County Citizens for Peace and Justice, held a press conference to denounce the workshop and demand an investigation by Governor John Evans. When the issue attracted prominent coverage in *The Idaho Statesman*, the state's Department of Law Enforcement canceled the event as "a good faith effort" toward the protest groups, according to department spokesman Gary Maxwell.

Despite the public pressure, the Ada County Sheriff's Department felt no qualms about assuming sponsorship of the workshop, and it was held as scheduled. The event became a major local issue. Dan Popkey, a reporter for *The Statesman*, discovered that Davis has been turned down twice for state certification as a police instructor in California. Popkey also found that police officials in Massachusetts had refused to allow Davis to offer his terrorism course there because of his right-wing views.

"His materials seemed to indicate that anyone could be a terrorist," Judith Panora, Massachusetts director of police training, told Popkey. "I felt it created in the minds of police officers an inappropriate sense of paranoia."

It is tempting to think of James Davis as a freelance extremist, a loose cannon on the deck of law enforcement. But his views on political dissent dovetail with the Reagan-Meese agenda. At the very least, Davis is providing police departments with the techniques to establish or enhance local Red squads and is painting a misleading picture of protest movements for often naïve and ill-informed police officers.

Davis's importance goes beyond his ideological theatrics. His seminars bring together state and local police officers and representatives of private security firms, creating informal networks of antisubversion cops. Seven police departments took part in the seminar in Connecticut, and Davis returned to the state in June to conduct a terrorism workshop for corporate security officials. Davis's Idaho workshop was cosponsored by the Rocky Mountain Information Network, a police communications agency, through which agencies in the region share criminal files and intelligence. The program proudly listed multinational corporations that had sent representatives, including Litton Industries and Colt Industries.

Perhaps most frightening, Davis and his clients make no attempt to conceal their views on protest groups and their advocacy of spying on the left. A spokesman for the Connecticut State Troopers told me his department's participation in Davis's workshop was justified because "it's as important to know that groups . . . are not going to be violent as to know they are."

Davis and his clients know that the post-Watergate, post-Cointelpro civil liberties consensus is shattered and that they have a friend in the White House. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Coming to Grief

CATHARINE R. STIMPSON

NEVER GUILTY, NEVER FREE. *By Ginny Foat, with Laura Foreman. Random House. 307 pp. $17.95.*

It is an almost universally acknowledged truth that an American show trial requires a show-and-tell book. An officer of the National Organization for Women, charged with murder, confesses here to her errors but even more, much more, to her innocence and sorrow. I believe her exculpatory narrative, but sourly. Neither a show trial nor its show-and-tell book is a sweetmeat.

Like *Moll Flanders*, its more spirited eighteenth-century ancestor, *Never Guilty, Never Free* offers us the figure of the female survivor of a jagged world in which she has had too much sex, too little money, the wrong class affiliation and the lesser of the genders. Despite their desire to be good, the Molls and the Ginnys find crime possible, punishment probable and sin more certain than redemption. Nevertheless, they earn redemption. If Moll finds Christ in London's Newgate Prison, Foat discovers self-esteem and feminism in California.

In 1983, the publicity from Foat's trial elevated the story of her life to the level of spectacle. As spectacle, the plot is at once ordinary and extreme; paradigmatic and idiosyncratic; democratic and alien. Foat was born Virginia Galluzzo, in Brooklyn, in 1941, into a close, conventional Italian family. Her father managed a Gristede's store. After moving his family to New Paltz, New York, he drove a Wonder Bread truck. A bit of a tomboy, Foat resisted the dresses her mother starched and ironed for her. Reflecting on her attachment to her father, she wonders if the occasional whippings he gave her did not teach "the rightness, the acceptability, of being beaten by a man I loved."

As a child, Foat longed to be "special," even to be a lawyer. Encouraged, an ambitious child can be prodigious. Thwarted, she can droop, drift, live vicariously through others or invest energy fitfully. Foat followed the second of these patterns. She became a stewardess, but quit to become engaged. Two years later her marriage was annulled; pregnant by another man, she fled to a home for unwed mothers. There she had a son and gave him up. Back with her New Paltz family, she worked off and on at cruddy jobs. She drank and slept around. Such men are "bums"; such women, "sluts."

In spring 1965, Foat took up with another blue-collar Catholic, a married bartender and ex-Marine who did Sammy Davis Jr. imitations. "I'll never forget the night I met Jack Sidote," she states in the laconic, controlled yet melodramatic prose *Never Guilty, Never Free* prefers. They tumble passionately into love, she for the first time. Sidote is the star whose light emblazons her. But she was wrong. Suicidally wrong. The real Sidote is a failure; a scumbag, a schizoid alcoholic, a liar, cheat, brute and killer. He wants to be a big shot—to own a bar, to brag about Mafia connections. Like Foat, he suffers from the injuries of class. Unlike her, he lashes out with the whip of masculinity to make up for them.

Foat's marriage to Sidote is an anti-conversion experience. She enters a world that will kill the old life but not generate a new one. *Never Guilty, Never Free* places Sidote on trial. The charge is the attempted murder of Virginia Galluzzo and Ginny Foat. The evidence is Foat's reading of his garish and bedraggled mind. The verdict is guilty. Indeed, Foat's innocence depends upon Sidote's guilt.

For three years, Sidote dragged his woman around the United States. As he enthralled, dominated, terrorized and beat her, they enacted a nasty parody of that corny American drama—being on the road. Then, in 1968, in California, he went to jail for manslaughter, threatening to kill Foat and also to force her to "rot in jail" if she were unfaithful.

Dutifully, Foat visited Sidote in prison and took him picnic lunches. Slowly, painfully, less dutifully, she began to spin new patterns of work and love, independence and intimacy. From a waitress she became an executive in the restaurant and catering business. She turned food preparation into a source of income and autonomy. She met Raymond Foat, an Englishman of working-class origins who had made himself into something of a gentleman. He treated women like ladies. From him she learned the language of up-to-date affectionate heterosexuality and abandoned an erotic vocabulary that made masculinity and brutality synonyms for one that prized "tenderness, courtesy, respect, and caring." But then Sidote slouched back on a weekend pass. Told Ginny was leaving him, he was engaged in strangling her when a friend came to the rescue and helped her return to her parents in New Paltz.

Vowing never again to "love anybody at my own expense," Ginny married Ray Foat. When a bank insisted that he co-sign a business loan for her, she impetuously went to a NOW meeting in Anaheim. Although neither humor nor irony is Foat's strong point, she is funny about that first encounter with feminism. Dressed in her false eyelashes and fingernails, flossy wig and polyester, she parked her black Cadillac and entered a room to find a strapping self-identified witch and a group of women in Army fatigues inserting speculums into their vaginas.

Foat's feminism seems to have been a genuine conversion experience. Despite Ray's opposition, despite the witches and Army fatigues, she continued to work for women's rights. The movement ushered her into a brave new world and restored a lost, primal home. She bursts into clichéd metaphor as she pictures feminism as a "fountain" from which she will drink, a race in which she will spring "from the starting gun, running flat out."

Conversion literature demands a Manichaean drama between a bad, weak, preconversion self and a good, saved postconversion self. Foat's struggles dramatize the battle between Virginia Galluzzo and the emerging Ginny Foat. At her most damned, guilt torments Virginia—because she failed at her first marriage; because she gave up an illegitimate child; because she displeased and enraged Sidote. In brief, Virginia is not a "good enough"

Catharine R. Stimpson, a professor of English at Rutgers University, is the author of fiction and nonfiction. She is also chair of the New York Council for the Humanities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woman. But Ginny realizes, retrospectively, that if Virginia is guilty, it is because she wanted too desperately to be a good enough woman. Her crime is having been feminine. In this genderization of the conversion drama, Ginny must extirpate Virginia. Moreover, Ginny must endure this psychological exercise if she is to confront the legal ordeal that will publicly judge both Virginia and Ginny.

In spring 1977, the regenerate Foat was happy. Sadly, Ray, a stable center of decency in *Never Guilty, Never Free*, had been unable to adapt to feminism or a feminist wife. The Foat marriage had faltered. Nevertheless, Ginny had several pleasures, at once modest and radical, middle-class and transgressive: good clothes; a small business; a nice house and garden; grass-roots politicking; a sense of self-worth.

Meanwhile, however, the degenerate Sidote was unhappy. In more trouble in New York State, he told the police that in 1965 he and Ginny had murdered a certain Moises Chayo in Louisiana and a Donald Fitting in Nevada. Though Foat was steadfast in her denial of *any* knowledge of such killings, Sidote's fusion and explanation of two previously unsolved crimes revved up the engines of justice. Asking for Virginia Galluzzo, four plainclothes policemen picked Foat up at her home, questioned her and deposited her at a women's prison, Sybil Brand. Sybil Brand: Nabokov could have invented the name, for henceforth Foat will become a sybil, an oracle, telling tales about branded, scarred and falsely incarcerated women.

After months, Foat was extradited to Nevada. Sidote refused to testify against her. Yet Foat had to spend more months in the scaly labyrinths of justice before she returned to California—with Ray. Though briefly renewed, their union lapsed again. Following a fourth failed marriage to another "kind, caring person," Foat realized that her real "home" was the women's movement. No mere housekeeper of feminism, she became California State president of NOW, a candidate for national president of NOW and an active Democrat.

As Foat admits, NOW was small and flexible enough to permit the diligent to achieve power. Sweetly, early feminism also trusted women—except for smirky queen bees. Feminism assumed that women had had hard lives. Could sexism have any other effect? However, women were not responsible for their difficulties. Sexism was. As fugitives from sexism, rebels against it, feminists could recover and act on their essential goodness, their stored treasures of the soul. Ideologically alien to much of Rousseau's thinking about gender, feminism nevertheless substituted Natural Woman for Natural Man.

Foat also started to live with women and reach out to them for "companionship and emotional support." She murmurs positively, piously and discreetly about the "strength" that women give one another. If these blessings include dandy erotic delicacies, the book fails to mention them. The foggy silence in which both decorum and expediency dwell closes in.

Muddle is a motor of history. So, to a lesser degree, is malice. Apparently because of muddle, no one ever quite dispensed with the Louisiana murder warrant against Foat. Apparently because of malice (at least in part), in December 1982, another NOW activist, Shelly Mandell, telephoned Louisiana authorities about the warrant. *Never Guilty, Never Free* devotes a suspiciously sparse flurry of pages to the circle of Foat, Mandell and friends. Evidently,

"I first met Allan Boesak in early 1983. His approach to liberation—and his opposition to apartheid—was from a Christian standpoint. I'm not a Christian, I have no religion, but I was greatly impressed by his sincerity and by the kind of Christianity that was his Christianity."—*Nadine Gordimer, The Village Voice*

BLACK AND REFORMED
Apartheid, Liberation, and The Calvinist Tradition by ALLAN BOESAK

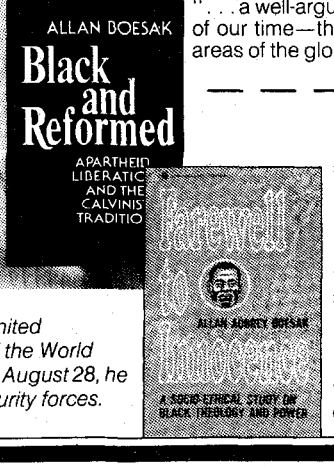
Leading anti-apartheid activist and theologian Allan Boesak speaks candidly about the reality of being black and oppressed in South Africa and the dilemma of being both black *and* Reformed in a nation that manipulates Dutch Reformed Christianity to justify apartheid.

"In a country that calls its dominant political ideology 'Christian Nationalism,' a theological critique from within is an important and necessary task. Boesak's *Black and Reformed* performs this function admirably."
—*Choice* 192pp. pbk. $8.95

FAREWELL TO INNOCENCE
A Socio-Ethical Study on Black Theology and Black Power by ALLAN BOESAK

Farewell to Innocence relates the black South African experience of oppression and the theology that has emerged from it to liberation movements and theologies in North America, Latin America, Asia, and the rest of Africa.

"... a well-argued and carefully documented interpretation of a major phenomenon of our time—the increasingly clear links between Christianity and protest in many areas of the globe."
—*Africa Today* 197pp. pbk. $8.95


ALLAN BOESAK
Black and Reformed
APARTHEID LIBERATIO AND THE CALVINIS TRADITIO
Farewell to Innocence
ALLAN BOESAK
A SOCIO-ETHICAL STUDY ON BLACK THEOLOGY AND POWER

Allan Boesak is a founder of the United Democratic Front and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. On August 28, he was arrested by South African security forces.

At bookstores or write: **ORBIS BOOKS Maryknoll, NY 10545**

Send _____ copies BLACK AND REFORMED @ $8.95
_____ copies FAREWELL TO INNOCENCE @ $8.95
☐ Payment enclosed (Add $1.50 for shipping. NY, CA add sales tax)
☐ Charge my MasterCard ☐ VISA ☐

BA5

Acct. No._____ Exp. Date _____
Signature _____
Send to:
Name _____
Address _____
City_____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

companions and colleagues became rivals. Clearly, Mandell was materially responsible for Foat's splashy arrest at the Burbank airport in January 1983.

As the preliminary bout before a show trial, the show arrest often bulges with the technological paraphernalia of the modern state: the helicopters, police in riot gear, handcuffs and, inexorably, the TV cameras and microphones. The police returned Foat to Sybil Brand and then, months later, flew her to Louisiana for her trial for murder.

Like the traditional show trial, Foat's version was a well-staged event, a play. She speaks, with legitimate bitterness, of having to perform in a farce. Though she has not auditioned for her part, she must help pay for the production. *Never Guilty, Never Free* argues implicitly that the state should be responsible for the legal fees of innocent defendants in these costly games. Like the traditional show trial, Foat's was meant to demonstrate the power of the state.

Unlike the traditional show trial, the contemporary American version cannot be wholly contrived. Its conventions dictate that the people, the jury, the participant/observers in the production, write the last scene. Their verdict completes the script that judge, attorneys, witnesses, court officers and defendants have begun. Only if this jury participates can the show trial have what entertainment demands: suspense. For show trials are less morality plays, though they aspire to that grandeur, than amusements. Aristotle's pity and terror have stewed into pap and titillation.

The media link the theater of the court to the largest possible audience. Foat is uniformly grim about their ruthlessness and errors. They are like lascivious, inept hanging judges. However, only the media can bloat the defendants into stars, celebrities. After her verdict, Foat inscribed her autograph on the lunch napkins of her jurors.

Like the show trial of Jean Harris in 1981, Foat's curled itself into a reenactment of the battle of the sexes. The Harris trial became the Jean and Herman Show, the Foat trial the Jack and Ginny Show. The corpse, poor bald Moises Chayo, the Jewish businessman from Argentina who liked a game of cards, was but an incidental figure, necessary to get the action going. Both Harris and Foat were, in that ghastly phrase, "nontraditional" women. Like Mildred Pierce, they had careers. Headmistress Harris was responsible for propriety; feminist Foat for challenges to propriety. Yet both were public women in public trouble.

Ironically, on trial, they performed as vulnerable private women in public trouble. They were victims of domesticity gone wrong. Foat had a sympathetic explanation for, a theory about, her grief. She suffered from the battered woman syndrome. Far less political, far less shrewd, far less well-defended, Harris—disastrously—went it alone.

The Jack and Ginny Show was more than the clash of a couple once bent on, and bent by, mutually assured destruction; more than a clash between interpretations of a struggle to the death on a night in Louisiana in 1965. It was a conflict of sexual mythologies. Foat's image of Sidote represents him as a strong believer in the Western myth of woman as either chaste wife and mother or whore.

The figure of the whore also has another incarnation as La Belle Dame Sans Merci, that temptress and vampire who hurts all men, including her own sons. In her contemporary version, she is the homicidal woman of *film*

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

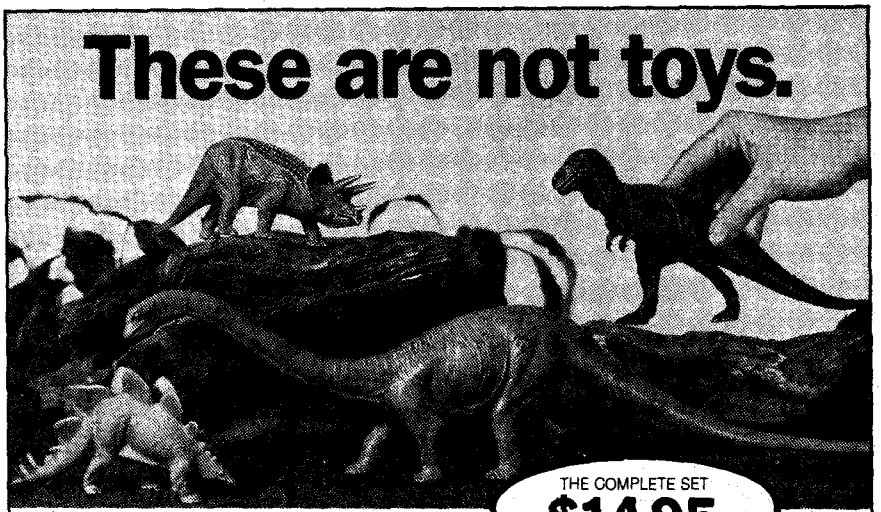
Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATIO.
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305



THE COMPLETE SET $14.95 BY MAIL ONLY

Collect Authentic Dinosaur Models from the British Museum of Natural History

You are looking at four authentic dinosaur models designed by the curators of the British Museum of Natural History. Each was sculptured to scale (1:45) by the craftsmen of the Museum duplicating the original down to the skin texture! They have been beautifully reproduced in solid, unbreakable, self-colored plastic in sizes as large as 19½ inches! Thousands of these fascinating and educational, life-like models have been sold by Museums throughout the world. We are proud to offer them to collectors for the very first time through this advertisement.

Set includes Diplodocus, 19½"; Tyrannosaurus, 10"; Triceratops, 6"; Stegosaurus, 5". Only $14.95 for all four, including a detailed description and history of each. Sold with an unconditional 30 day moneyback guarantee.

FOR FAST SERVICE Credit Card Customers call Toll Free - 24 hours - 7 days a week 1-800-228-3535 IN NEBRASKA 1-800-642-9606

© 1985 Barnes & Noble Bookstores, Inc.

SINCE 1873 Barnes & Noble BOOKSTORES DEPT. D619 126 FIFTH AVE. N.Y., N.Y. 10011

1341189. Please rush me ____ dinosaur set(s) at $14.95 each. (Plus $1.75 shipping & insurance.) NY & NJ residents: Please add sales tax. 30-Day Money-Back Guarantee.

Name _____

Addres. _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Charge to my: ☐AMEX ☐VISA ☐ MasterCard

Acct.# _____ Exp. _____

Signature _____

Offer good only in continental U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABOUT YOUR *NATION* SUBSCRIPTION

NOTE: Subscription orders, changes of address, and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: The Nation, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305.

Please allow us six weeks to solve a subscription problem or to change your address. These transactions are handled by our subscription service in Marion, Ohio. They operate their computers on a long-range schedule that allows for orderly processing, generating reports and producing labels for mailing the magazine.

You may get a bill or a renewal notice after you have already paid or renewed. Please disregard it. Bills and renewal notices are mailed on a monthly basis, but since the information must be pulled two weeks before the mailing, bills and payments sometimes cross in the mail.

Changing your address. *When you* change your address, we need the complete old and new addresses as well as a copy of your mailing label, if possible. If your new address is temporary please send to "temporary address change" and make sure to include your permanent address, your temporary address, and the dates of the change.

Missed copies. We publish 47 issues and send over 2½ million copies to our subscribers each year. Occasionally copies go astray, for a variety of reasons. If you notify us of missed copies within 60 days of the issue date, we will be happy to replace them.

Mailing list. The *Nation* makes its subscription list available to carefully screened organizations whose programs or services may interest our readers. No one is allowed to use our list without our approval. If you do not wish to receive such solicitations, however, please advise us and we will delete your name from the lists we make available.

Foreign subscriptions. Copies going overseas are shipped by surface mail and may take several months to reach subscribers. Air mail is more expensive but copies will arrive usually within two weeks. Air mail rates are available on request.

The Nation hopes to give its subscribers the best possible service. We appreciate your cooperation and understanding.

noir and the tramp of detective stories. For Sidote, Foat may have resembled both the promiscuous Susan Lennox (without the fortune) and the murderous Eileen Wade of *The Long Goodbye*.

Virginia Galluzzo internalized the myth of Cinderella. She waited dreamily for a macho prince. Foat writes as if she were now beyond myths of any sort. But she lives in the feminist myth that women invariably toil together to nurture their abilities; that they cultivate both communities and the best of romantic individualism. Foat's dealings with Mandell are evidence of the barren soil such a myth must cover.

Never Guilty, Never Free also ornaments a feminist version of Beauty and the Beast. The male (here Sidote) is the beast. However, his transformations are not ascents toward princeliness. To the contrary the male descends, devolves, toward worse and worse bestiality. The female (here Foat) is beauty. Naïvely, she first equates beauty with sexuality, a survival gambit to attract would-be princes. Then, during her transformations, she learns that beauty is a matter of spirit—of work and morality. Her reward is dignity and happiness, the bliss of virtue.

If the various directors of Foat's trial tended to reduce it to the Jack and Ginny Show, her own story tends to reduce her life to her relationship with Sidote and its lousy consequences. Focusing her refracting lens, Foat begins with an image of her 1983 Sybil Brand cell: "My world is a cage, six feet by ten feet." The well-worn but durable metaphor of the cage is meant to be emblematic of Sidote's psychological and physical hold. Foat is most precise, most detailed, when she is analyzing Sidote and his power: his need for revenge; the fractures and contradictions in his lies about her; the nightmare into which those lies dumped her. She ends with the jury's "not guilty" verdict. The jury has accepted her testimony: a battered, obedient, loving woman, she had been alone and asleep in a New Orleans hotel. Looking scared, Sidote had awakened her; said there might be trouble; ordered her to pack. Ask no questions. Get no reasons. Foat exults:

> I was crying . . . with the joy of finally leaving all the cages behind me. The jury had made its judgment in one hour and fifty minutes, and I, after an agony of years, had made mine: Ginny Foat is not guilty.

Like many people I know, I thought in 1983 that Foat might have done something bad on that night in New Orleans in 1965. Or, she might not have. The fact that she was a battered woman rendered it more plausible that she might have done something bad—if Sidote had wanted her to. For had he not transmogrified her into a regressive child; his instrument; his thing? *Never Guilty, Never Free* convinces me that I would have joined the jury's vote. The choice of Foat's story over Sidote's, the Big Shot as Big Liar, is compellingly logical.

But *Never Guilty, Never Free* is meant to sweep us beyond doubt; to assure us that Foat has swept nothing under the rug. Like all confessions, the text seeks our respect for its authenticity. Yet, I tug uneasily at its corners, rub uneasily at its patterns. Foat is wary of readers like me. "I began to understand," she declares, "that even if I was cleared of murder, I would never again have sole title to my own life. All the people I would ever meet . . . could bring to that meeting information they had no right to and misinformation they probably believed." I have no privileged information about Foat, but any show-and-tell book, even if written to get out of debt, invites a rush to judgment.

Foat shows too much and tells too little. She writes that she has repressed much of her experience with Sidote. All the therapies of therapy, time, friendship and autobiographical recall cannot put all the hurtful past together again. Persuasive enough, but repressed material is still material. Its possible table of contents tantalizes me. Moreover, *Never Guilty, Never Free* also deliberately lowers its blinds over the feminist politics, the feminist friends, the Shellys and Kays and Jans. Because the narrative so obsessively but cunningly stays with Foat and Sidote, it pushes aside another clamoring fact: Foat is obviously a restless, competent, competitive and powerful woman. She always plays the hand her situation deals her. She copes with her environments—high school, various jobs or NOW. Even in prison, she becomes a leader—as Jean Harris did. Why, then, does *Never Guilty, Never Free* so conceal Foat's power? Because of the demands of a feminist theory that underscores woman as victim? Because of the demands of her legal defense? A defense that feminist theory influenced? Critics brood over the sincerity of Moll

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

landers's conversion to Christianity. Carpers can now muse over the fragility of Foat.

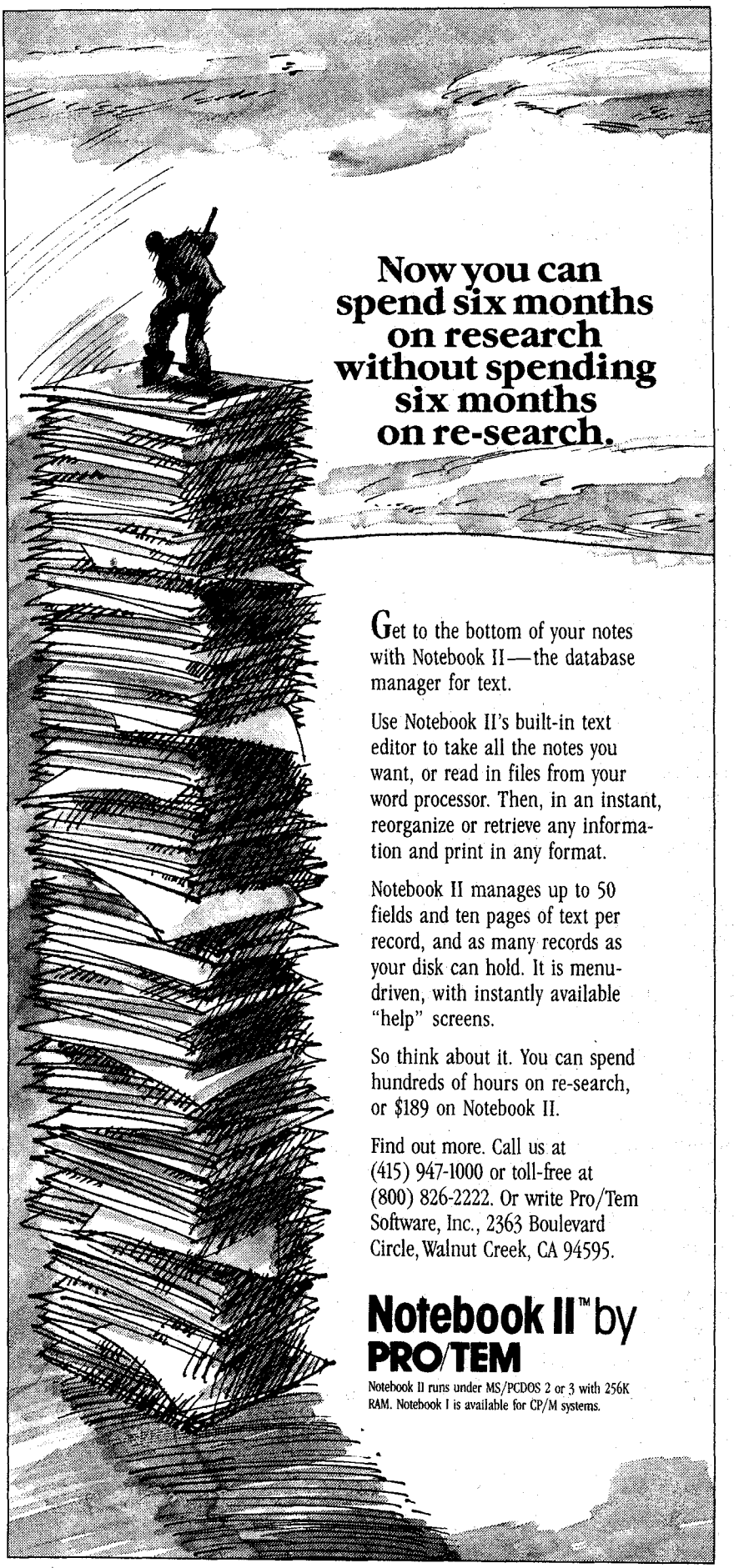
All readers, however, must wonder if Foat is really Foat. For *Never Guilty, Never Free* has a collaborator, Laura Foreman. Foat is the author of record; Foat will go on the author's tour of at least thirteen cities. The rules of ghosting and collaborating decree that the author has control of the text. Foat must approve everything Foreman writes. Still, the presence of ghosts and collaborators makes me suspicious, especially in the case of autobiographies.

Before we became so pleased about being the captive creatures of discourse, an autobiographer promised a reader that a text would reveal the naked self. Moreover, the autobiographer was doing all the revealing. Like playing a sonata or serving an ace, writing autobiography meant going it alone. "I am, therefore I write, therefore I write what I am and am what I write." Foat/Foreman issue the first promise. Collaboration ruins the second. What and who, then, is Foat? What and who, then, is Foreman? Let us say that Foreman is a catalyst, doing for writing what a therapist does for remembering and healing. But no catalytic substance enters or leaves a reaction innocently.

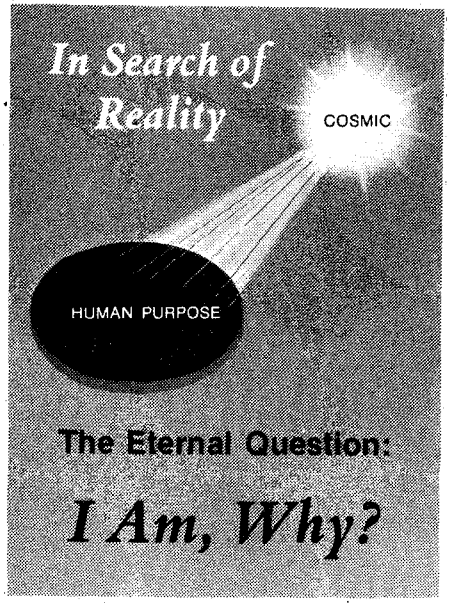
Foat/Foreman have produced a consistent voice and a slick structure. It seems designed to leave the page and become the basis for a film or a "docudrama," a commodity for an image-consuming market that is vaster than a book can satisfy. The present-tense first paragraphs of *Never Guilty, Never Free* are like an establishing shot that will dissolve into a series of extended flashbacks. Splices between chapters are tight, smooth. The climactic last paragraphs, the "not guilty" verdict, are tumultuous, joyous, comic. The central character walks out amid her cheering supporters. Foat/Foreman even supply dialogue as well as narrative continuity.

Reinforcing the sense of this book as a movie-to-be is its habit of using film language—perceptions fade; the mind goes into slow motion; memory unreels at high speed. Foat's story mingles Ida Lupino with Gloria Steinem; Joan Crawford with Eleanor Smeal. Foat may distrust the media, and rightly so, but Foat/Foreman have crafted a media event.

I would have preferred simply to celebrate Foat; to muffle my appetite


Now you can spend six months on research without spending six months on re-search.
Get to the bottom of your notes with Notebook II—the database manager for text.
Use Notebook II's built-in text editor to take all the notes you want, or read in files from your word processor. Then, in an instant, reorganize or retrieve any information and print in any format.
Notebook II manages up to 50 fields and ten pages of text per record, and as many records as your disk can hold. It is menu-driven, with instantly available "help" screens.
So think about it. You can spend hundreds of hours on re-search, or $189 on Notebook II.
Find out more. Call us at (415) 947-1000 or toll-free at (800) 826-2222. Or write Pro/Tem Software, Inc., 2363 Boulevard Circle, Walnut Creek, CA 94595.
Notebook II™ by PRO/TEM
Notebook II runs under MS/PCDOS 2 or 3 with 256K RAM. Notebook I is available for CP/M systems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Is life just a haphazard phenomenon? Are there but blind mechanistic laws, causes and effects without purpose? Is there a reason for our personal existence? Can we establish a personal mission that will be in harmony with Infinite Reality—or must we drift along, buffeted by the winds of chance? These are subjects fascinatingly explored by The Rosicrucians, a worldwide fraternity. Ask for a **free** copy of the book, **The Mastery of Life**.

The Rosicrucians are:
- Not a religion
- Nonprofit
- Nonpolitical

USE THIS COUPON

Scribe EZG
Rosicrucian Order (AMORC)
Rosicrucian Park
San Jose, CA 95191, U.S.A.

Gentlemen:
Kindly send me a free copy of THE MASTERY OF LIFE.

Name _____

Address _____

_____
zip

The Rosicrucians (AMORC)
San Jose, California 95191, U.S.A.

for sardonic, academic gibes; to head off suspicions that I, too, like to victimize a feminist who has broken the manacles of class and gender. I would have preferred to rest in the paradise c belief—if I had not been so fearful c walking up the gangplank for a sail t paradise on a ship of fools. [

It's a Small *W*

HENRIETTA STACKPOLE

Parading through the recent pages of *Vanity Fair* is the small and exclusive crowd usually seen at Le Cirque and in *W*. A squad of the Beautiful People, their friends and relatives, they—like the performers in some small-town circus—must often do double and sometimes triple duty to fill out an issue. A concordance of cross-references is herewith provided to keep track of the players in their various roles.

Appropriately, our First Lady takes the lead. She and her husband have the first dance on the June cover and waltz right on into the lead story ("The Way They Are"). Nancy also makes a solo appearance in "Table Talk." She crops up again briefly in a photograph with Jerry Zipkin on the wall of Mortimer's ("The Mortimer's Bunch"), and she shares with Wallis Annenberg a Florist to the Famous ("Prodigal Daughter").

The text for the Reagans' staged fandango is written by old friend William F. Buckley Jr. Mortimer's owner, Glenn Bernbaum, observes that "Mrs. Reagan is having lunch at Mrs. Buckley's," which explains why they are not at Mortimer's, and Christopher Buckley, of the younger generation of the Buckley clan, is floating down the Nile with such members of the Reagans' inner circle as Betsy Bloomingdale and Jerry Zipkin ("Nile Diary").

Old politicos Henry Kissinger and Edward Kennedy are relegated to bit parts as Harvard graduates in "The Old College Tie." The distaff side shows up in proper coed settings: Nancy Kissinger is one of "The Women You Want to Sit Next To," while Teddy's sisters Patricia Kennedy Lawford and Jean Kennedy Smith are described as regulars at Mortimer's.

Cosima von Bülow, bending fearlessly forward in a strapless gown, shows a lot more than a "Fresh Face" in "Gilded Youth." In the meantime, her father, socialite Claus von Bülow assists in filling out the scene a Mortimer's.

Representing a truly postmodern ex tended family is the Lady (Slim) Keitl clan. In "The Mortimer's Bunch" Slin is giving a dinner at Mortimer's fo her daughter Kitty Hawks (film direc tor Howard Hawks was her father), at tended by Lady Keith's stepdaughte Brooke Hayward (from Slim's marriag to producer Leland Hayward). Pete Duchin, Brooke Hayward's friend, i described as another regular at Mor timer's. Fitting right in is postmodern ist architect Michael Graves ("Table Talk"), Kitty Hawks's beau in June. Slim Keith, Brooke Hayward and Pete Duchin each make their second appearance in a story featuring Peter Duchin ("The Peter Duchin Story"). Brooke Hayward's second husband was Dennis Hopper, according to "The Peter Duchin Story," whereas actress Michelle Phillips was married to Hopper for only eight days ("The Women You Want to Sit Next To"). It is not clear from any of the stories in *Vanity Fair* whether Michelle Phillips came before or after Brooke Hayward. Given more information, the Slim Keith family tree could possibly be drawn on a non-Euclidian surface.

Socialite and alleged urban planner Marietta Tree, another of "The Women You Want to Sit Next To," is said to be a frequent guest at Mortimer's. She is also the sister of Sam Peabody of "you know, the Peabody Boston tribe," who is married to Judy Peabody, who has a small part in a story on La Prairie's advertising campaign for skin products using socially prominent women and their favorite charities ("Peter Picks the Prairie Roses"). The *Vanity Fair* business department missed a beat here by not getting a real La Prairie ad into this issue.

Not everyone in *Vanity Fair* is linked by family ties. Some marrieds and singles carry the burden all by themselves. Our First Lady of Wealth, Ann Getty, is the center of the La Prairie story, and in the very next article ("Nile

Henrietta Stackpole is a writer living in New York City.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

diary"), she hosts a two-week cruise down the Nile for many of the Mormer's-for-brunch bunch.

Others engage in bicoastal eating: Ahmet Ertegun (he of the *Bodrum* yes) and Placido Domingo were among the select at Swifty Lazar's Academy Awards party at Spago ("Tinsel Tone"). Elsewhere in the issue Lazar, Ertegun and Domingo have a reunion at Mortimer's.

Reinaldo Herrera, listed on the masthead as special projects editor, is the "socialite and landowner" who also eats at Mortimer's. Queen Sirikit of Thailand, socialite, aristocrat and "polo crony" in "A Palm Beach Story" is served a glass of apple juice by a blond waiter in the middle of a Joffrey Ballet performance ("Table Talk").

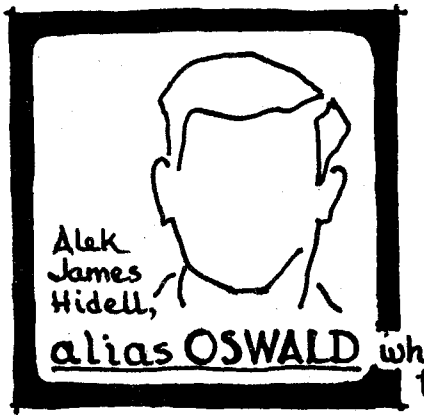
Even if you do not get invited to the dinner parties where "The Women You Want to Sit Next To" sit—like Yasmin Khan and Fran Lebowitz—you can still sit *near* them at Mortimer's. Other troopers, like Jerry Zipkin and Nan Kempner, join Ann Getty on the Nile but still have time for Mortimer's.

Although art critic John Richardson did not see the pyramids, is not a candidate for the La Prairie campaign and is certainly not among the women you want to sit next to, he could still be observed at Mortimer's. You can find out what he looks like in the Annie Leibovitz photograph accompanying "Art Smart: John Richardson: Titan of taste." In this day and age it is a great comfort not to be taxed by unfamiliar faces. Hurray for the one-ring circus at Mortimer's!

The dance goes on. Princess Stephanie of Monaco, mentioned briefly in June ("Peter Picks the Prairie Roses"), gets on the cover in July and is featured—with her Prince Rainier body—in "Desperately Seeking Stephanie." She also appears in a two-page advertisement for the La Prairie Skin Care Collection.

Claus von Bülow emerges from his minor role in June to grace the cover of the August issue together with his demure, negligéed companion, Andrea Reynolds. The cover story on Claus ("Fatal Charm"), in which he and Andrea camp it up in black leather, is written by Dominick Dunne and continues in September. Dunne himself is written about in July by Peter Buckley in "Murder Most Swank." This is a little notice of Dunne's novel *The Two Mrs. Grenvilles*, closely based on reputed

COLLECTOR's EDITION



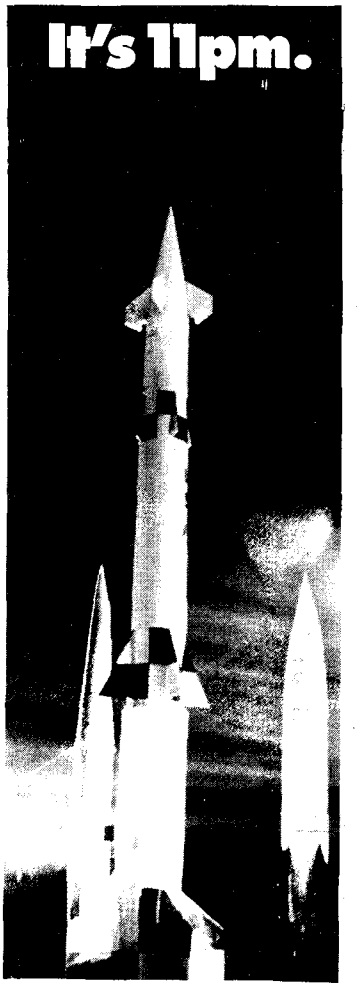
available 15 September
researched/written by
W R Morris
R B Cutler
— @ $ 15 00 ppd
2 max/person
who died in an heroic attempt to save his President's life

send CHK/MO to Publisher:
GKG Partners box 1465 Manchester MA 01944

name

address

zip



Do you know where your money is?

Earn competitive interest while your savings work *for*, not *against*, your principles.

Unlike many banks, Working Assets won't use your money to finance MX missiles, toxic wastes or apartheid in South Africa. You'll like what we *do* invest in.

Daily compounding, free check-writing, IRAs and Keoghs, $1,000 minimum. Write or call for a free prospectus.

What you'll gain is worth far more than money.

800-543-8800
Toll-free right now

WORKING ASSETS
Over $60 million strong
230 California Street San Francisco, CA 94111

Please send me your free prospectus including more complete information about management fees and expenses. I'll read it carefully before investing.

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

433

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

society murderer Ann Woodward. Yes, this is the same Ann Woodward who has an affair with Claus von Bülow in the August issue. It's all in the family.

Our own catatonic Andy Warhol is listed in July as one of the V.I.P.s who live in the Hamptons ("Race to the Hamptons"). In August, asked to make a recommendation for "Night-Table Reading," he actually speaks: "I don't read. I watch TV." Andy was wrong about short-lived fame. Only ordinary schleps will be famous for fifteen minutes. In *Vanity Fair* the same people can be famous month after month.

All those with supporting roles in *Vanity Fair* should take heart. Given the small cast of characters in this monthly game of musical chairs, they should sooner or later have their turn on *Vanity Fair*'s cover. □

ART.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

The Thaw Collection

Gottlob Frege, the father of modern logic, once proposed that a word has meaning only in the context of a sentence. It is reckless, perhaps, to press as an analogy to this deep thought that a work of art has meaning only in the context of an exhibition. Everyone will allow that the circumstances of display often vest a work with qualities it does not possess in its own right: when a museum exhibits a painting in a room by itself, with velvet barrier and guards, something is being said about rarity, importance and value that the painting scarcely could say about itself. But that Frege would dismiss as mere "coloration," a matter of rhetorical force. I refer, rather, to the fact that when we discuss a work, whether as critics or art historians, we tend to surround it with other works which illuminate features of it that might remain invisible when the work is examined in isolation. Each critical or art-historical article implies an exhibition in what Malraux has termed "the imaginary museum." To understand a painting, then, is to know what other works it would go with to form a coherent show. And this, pretty much, is what Frege wanted to say about words: to understand a word is to know how to combine it with other words to frame a coherent sentence. But to the degree that the analogy holds, the conclusion is inescapable that exhibitions have meanings that are implied by their component works.

It is rare, of course, that the meaning of a work will be given through a single exhibition. Works are characteristically richer than that; and it might be argued that the richer the work, the more exhibitions it implies, which is one way of making explicit the claim that a given work is capable of myriad interpretations. It has sometimes been true, especially when exhibitions are institutionalized and official, that the meaning of a work is exhausted by the context for which it was intended. When the Salon dominated French painting, few artists could afford to paint in a manner unacceptable to a Salon jury. Renoir, for example, was diverted from his natural creative bent by the need to conform to Salon criteria. And since the costs of alternative exhibition, with his fellow Impressionists, say, were simply too high for him to bear, his work hovers uneasily between what was officially required and what the urgencies of his original vision demanded. Géricault, though financially independent, painted on the scale he did, with subjects as dramatic as that of "Raft of the 'Medusa,'" because he meant his work to go into the Salons, which favored paintings in the grand manner on dramatic historical themes. He even allowed the semiotics of those exhibitions to determine, to its detriment, where a particular work was to be hung: for "Raft" he chose a high position on an important wall when it should have been set at eye level to draw viewers into its vehement action. That painting, of course, survived and transcended the context of its exhibition, but the bulk of its companions in the Salon of 1819 were so congruent with that exhibition that they cannot be seen without generating a vision of an arid, meretricious and academic society of works. If you wish a counterpart in our era, think of last year's terrible inaugural exhibition at the made-over Museum of Modern Art. The works looked exactly as if constructed to go with one another in just such an exhibition, and as with the *grands machines* of France's Salons, it is difficult to imagine them as having a meaning apart from their context. Much the same thing may be said about the recent Whitney Biennials.

In any case, an exhibition has the structure of a text one must learn t read. In recent years, a special categor of art criticism has emerged which taci ly takes the exhibition to be the basi unit of artistic meaning, much as Freg supposed the sentence has primacy ove the word. Perhaps this "exhibition crit cism"—or *Ausstellungskritik*, to give the German name it is destined to bea once scholars become conscious of it existence—has its beginning in Diderot' brilliant analyses of the Salons of hi time. Whatever its credentials, one find oneself responding to works in terms o the meaning exhibitions have conferre on them, drawing attention, as critic, t latencies of form and reference th assembled works release in one another For someone of my temperament, th overwhelming temptation is to identify some of the axioms of *Ausstellungskritik* But on this occasion I shall instead offe a limited illustration of it, by discussing the elegant show that provoked these speculations.

The exhibition, preponderantly but not exclusively of drawings, from the collection of Eugene and Clare Thaw at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City (until November 10) is one of the most intoxicating and delightful shows I can recall. Each of its component works is of a certain quality, but the sum of their individual values cannot account for the spirit of the show itself, which is one of lightness, gaiety, piquancy, pleasure and civilized excitement. That spirit has to come from the works' juxtaposition and mutual enhancement. For whatever the unquestioned quality of the exhibits, few of them belong to the same class or have the same depth. Indeed, for certain of them, such as a series of watercolors of the interiors of nineteenth-century rooms—the "Dressing Room of Ludwig I of Bavaria, 1836," for example, by Franz Xaver Nachmann—the category of depth has no application. But there is a wonderful, abrupt refreshment in seeing that painting hung in the same show with Mantegna's "Three Apostles" and Rembrandt's "The Rest on the Flight into Egypt." To get such internally distant works to vibrate to one another would have been impossible had the show consisted simply of these three works. It would be like a meeting of Einstein, Saint Bernard of Clairvaux and Gypsy Rose Lee in the Elysian Fields. What could they have to say to one another? So one has to have selected just the right other works to mediate the disparities

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

until, by some miracle of taste and audacity, something quite unexpected and amazing emerges. A bit of Fragonard, a Watteau, a Cézanne or two. Why not Goya? A Max Ernst? Some Picassos? The talent called on to form such a singular complex is the sort that goes into the design of a marvelous meal, or a party in which the most unlikely pairings induce unimaginable harmonies, or a piece of interior decoration in which things one would have supposed antithetical display affinities no one could have expected. It is a talent for experiment and generosity.

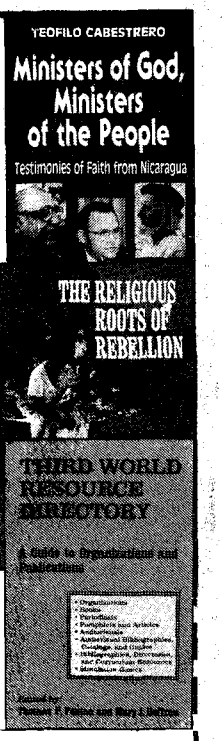
As one enters the main exhibition space, one sees some unmistakable Cézannes, one of them a watercolor of pears and apples—of pear contours and apple vibrations—a work of such compelling luminosity that only the etiquette of how to look at an exhibition inhibits one from dashing across the room to gluttonize it. (Some cleverly interspersed display cases subtly discourage so headlong a plunge.) So one begins, responsibly, at the beginning, where one sees, immediately, Mantegna's "Apostles"; a portrait of a bearded personage, ambiguous as between dignity and foolishness, by Hans Sebald Beham; and a giddy Mannerist drawing by Goltzius, titled "The Sense of Smell" and composed of a confectionary girl smelling a flower while her dog, rapturously as an Adoration figure, smells another flower, this one stuck provocatively in a fold across her pubis. The passage from the austere sobriety of Mantegna to the oblique eroticism of the Goltzius, through the characterological indeterminacy of the Beham, defines the esthetic transits of the show. Each drawing deepens something vaguely present in the others, reveals an aspect in its companions that cannot be generalized and leads one to expect that a fourth and fifth drawing is going to enrich what one must carry now in memory. One must look, for metaphor, to the way great dancers augment one another's gifts or conversationalists prick one another into flights of brilliant outrageousness. And one realizes that working one's way to the Cézanne is not going to be a matter of serial responses, a quantum of appreciation and on to the next thing. Rather, one goes to the next thing with an increased anticipation: What can possibly come next? And one is never let down. It is like opening presents, each at once suitable and surprising.

FAITH AT WORK IN CENTRAL AMERICA

MINISTERS OF GOD, MINISTERS OF THE PEOPLE
Testimonies of Faith from Nicaragua
by TEOFILO CABESTRERO
Three priests in the Nicaraguan government explain how they combine their priesthood and their political commitment. Paper $6.95

THE RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF REBELLION
Christians in Central American Revolutions
by PHILLIP BERRYMAN
The best historical account of what the churches have done in Central America. ". . . the authoritative statement against which all other accounts will be judged."—GARY MacEOIN Paper $19.95

THIRD WORLD RESOURCE DIRECTORY
A Guide to Organizations and Publications
Edited by THOMAS P. FENTON & MARY J. HEFFRON
Resources include organizations, books, periodicals, pamphlets and articles, films, slide shows, videotapes, and simulation games. Covers Central America, Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East.
Paper $17.95


TEOFILO CABESTRERO
Ministers of God, Ministers of the People
Testimonies of Faith from Nicaragua
THE RELIGIOUS ROOTS OF REBELLION
THIRD WORLD RESOURCE DIRECTORY

At bookstores or order direct

NA5

ORBIS BOOKS, Maryknoll, NY 10545

_____ Ministers of God, Ministers of the People @ $6.95
_____ The Religious Roots of Rebellion @ $19.95
_____ Third World Resource Directory @ $17.95

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
☐ Payment enclosed (include $1.50 for shipping) ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA ($15.00 min.)
Acc. No. _____ Exp. date _____
Signature _____

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel,* that's who. Members of America's diplomatic corps are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad, where they must be able to converse in every situation.

Now you can learn to speak Spanish just as these diplomatic personnel do—with the Foreign Service Institute's Programmatic Spanish Course. You'll learn Latin American Spanish recorded by native speakers.

The U.S. Department of State has spent thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far *the most effective way* to learn Spanish at your own convenience and at your own pace.

The course consists of a series of cassettes and accompanying textbook. Simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. By the end of the course, you'll be learning and speaking entirely in Spanish!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmatic" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

AUDIO-FORUM®

The FSI's Programmatic Spanish Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I: Basic.** 12 cassettes (17 hr.), manual, and 464-p. text, $135.
☐ **Volume II: Intermediate.** 8 cassettes (12 hr.), manual, and 614-p. text, $120.
(CT residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234.**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name, address, and check or money order, or charge to any major credit card by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's Spanish course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn Spanish, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

120 courses in 41 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 12th year.

Audio-Forum
Room N41
On-The-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

5th Annual Symposium
Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute
PEACE LAW VS. THE MILITARISTS
SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26 AND 27
U.C. Berkeley Campus
Box 673, Berkeley, CA 94701 (415) 848-0599.

SHOULD ISRAEL TALK WITH THE P.L.O.?
MEIR MERHAV
economic editor, The Jerusalem Post
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 20, 3:30 PM
24 East 39th Street, New York City
Sponsored by American-Israel Council for Israeli Palestinian Peace. (312) 969-7584.

GIVE OCTOBER 23 FOR PEACE!
Join others worldwide. Dedicate October 23 as a protest against defense by nuclear suicide and to work for peace.
Donations and endorsements requested. Write STRIKE FOR PEACE, Box 810, Loomis, CA 95650 or call (916) 652-9056. Endorsed by Japanese and American Professionals Against Nuclear Omnicide.

GET THE WORD OUT THROUGH THE NATION
At $35 an inch an event ad reaches 65,000 subscribers.
To find out the circulation in your area, call Neil Black at (212) 242-8400.

NATIONAL ANTI-APARTHEID PROTEST DAY
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, 5:30 PM
Rally Against Citibank's Links to South Africa 5:30 PM
Citicorp Center
53rd Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City
March from Citicorp Center to the South African Consulate beginning at 7 PM.
48th Street between 1st and 2nd Avenues
Rallies will be held in 20 other cities and 100 universities across the country. For information,
Southern CA (213) 533-5028; Northern CA (415) 843-0217; Houston (713) 521-2964; Chicago (312) 922-3915; Atlanta (404) 586-0460; Washington, DC (202) 546-7961; Philadelphia (215) 241-7000; Boston (617) 782-1823; New York City/National office (212) 962-1210.

The Center for Cuban Studies presents
Lejania (Parting of the Ways)
Directed by Jesus Diaz
In Spanish with English subtitles.
This newest film by the director of "55 Hermanos" and "Polvo rojo" examines one of the most difficult aspects of the Cuban revolution—the separation of families. The film covers 24 hours in the life of a young Cuban whose mother returns to visit him for the first time since leaving Cuba for the United States 20 years earlier.
The screening also includes 4 new Cuban documentary shorts (in Spanish only).
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10 AND OCTOBER 17, 8 PM
Casa de las Americas
104 West 14th Street, New York City
$5, cash bar.
All films are on videotape and will be shown on a large video screen. For information (212) 242-0559.

JOIN THE HARVEST
Volunteer work brigades leaving for Nicaragua from November to March to help with coffee and cotton harvests. 2- or 3-week periods, approximate cost $400 plus travel. Also, special brigades: Third World, Jewish, Elders, Unitarian-Universalists.
Nicaragua Exchange, 239 Centre Street, New York, NY 10013. (212) 219-8620.

Memorial Tribute to
M.S. ARNONI
Editor and publisher of
In Search and A Minority of One
Program: Dr. Harry Faivus, Joel Rothman, Carl Marzani, John Ranz, George C. White, Tera Arnoni.
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13, 2 PM
369 8th Avenue at 29th Street, New York City.
No admission charge and no fund raising.

At the Museum of Modern Art
Part of the documentary series
"How Yukong Moved the Mountains"
Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan's films shot in China at the end of the cultural revolution.
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 3 AND 6 PM
"Rehearsal at the Peking Opera,"
"Impressions of a City (Shanghai)"
The Museum of Modern Art
The Roy and Niuta Titus Theater 2
11West 53rd Street, New York City
For the daily film schedule: (212) 708-9490.

THE SAN FRANCISCO MIME TROUPE
presents
STEEL TOWN
An original musical comedy
"Explosive political incitement and bold, entertaining theater." —The New York Times
SEE THEM ON THEIR EAST COAST TOUR
October 16 to 20, Boston (617) 956-6718; October 22, Fitchburg (617) 345-2151; October 25 to 27, Washington, DC (202) 463-6500; October 30, La Plume, PA (717) 945-5141, ext 3010; November 1, Bethlehem (215) 861-3877; November 2 to 3, Philadelphia (215) 563-0636.
For information on their other tour stops: S.F.M.T., 855 Treat Street, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 285-1716.
It's not silent!

"LEGS AGAINST ARMS"
NEW YORK CITY WALK-A-THON FOR MEDICAL AID TO CENTRAL AMERICA
SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19 (RAINDATE, OCTOBER 20)
Begins at 10 am at J. Hood Wright Park (175th Street and Fort Washington Avenue) with a 10-mile walk down Broadway and across East 8th Street and ends with a rally at Tompkins Square Park.
Speakers include Ruth Messinger.
Music of Salvadoran singer Armando Martinez, New Song and Andean music.
Organize donors to sponsor you per mile walked. All proceeds go to the Nicaragua Emergency Relief Fund, Guatemala Health Rights Support Project and the El Salvador Medical Relief Fund.
Sponsors: N.Y. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (NY CISPES), Nicaragua Medical and Material Aid Campaign (NICMAC), N.Y. Central America Health Rights Committee, Northern Manhattan Committee on Central America, Committee for Non-Intervention in Central America. For information: CISPES, 19 W 21st Street, New York, NY 10010 (212) 242-1040.

But let me describe what one meets en route to the pears and apples. A mother and child by Jordaens, mouths agape in some indeterminate emotional transport. A landscape by Claude, a world of air and water, with feathery trees and a distant gray basilica submerged in washes. The mentioned Rembrandt, but also one he drew, with calligraphic bravura, of a scholar whose nose and brows are done with two decisive strokes. A youth by Watteau, executed in his *trois crayons* manner. An Oudry in grisaille of a rat trapped by an oyster, intended as an illustration for La Fontaine's *Fables*. Now six drawings by Fragonard for Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*—disciplined froth, casual exactitude, gestural mastery. And one is only halfway to the Cézanne, with, among other things, a sketchbook of Degas to relish. Each piece is crazily perfect. It is all treats.

The unity of the exhibition is such that one wants the show to materialize in the mind in its entirety, so one is driven through to the end. After that one wants to go back to favorites. I returned to a Piranesi, an astonishment in blots and scratches out of which the portrait of an artist emerges, holding a sketch board. The color on which the figure is drawn and the color of the paper on which he is about to draw are, of course, the same, but the latter is opaque and solid, while the former has the transparency and impalpability of the atmosphere. The sky, in a crisp drawing titled "The Jacobikirche in Greifswald as a Ruin," by Caspar David Friedrich, is the color of the paper, whether seen above the broken pillars of the church or through the shattered mullions of its windows, but it is luminous through the windows, while pale above the pillars. Two translucent pears by Odilon Redon. An uncanny airless drawing of a boy asking alms of a mounted squire, casting surrealist shadows, done by Wilhelm von Kobell in 1831. In a way, everything was the favorite, most particularly the Cézanne, which draws one in and to which an entire review could be devoted. You will leave the show happier than when you entered.

Eugene Thaw is well known as an art dealer and a connoisseur as well as a collector. A memorable exhibition of the collection he and Clare Thaw formed hung at the Morgan in 1975, before it passed into the library's collection. The works exhibited here were acquired by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ıe Thaws in the intervening decade. Or accumulated" by them, as Eugene haw prefers to say, "because no ɔecific program has motivated this ssemblage and, consequently, it unɔlds as a much less systematic survey ıan the collection we showed ten years go." So it does. But the use of the ord "unfolds" is revealing. Unfolding ; not something exhibitions often do, nd the Thaws' exact taste gave rise to n assemblage that must be useless for he didactic or crass purposes that enerate so many exhibitions. Even so, t is instructive to the student of *Ausstelungskritik*. "We hope," Thaw writes, 'that some of the enjoyment [the vorks] have given us continues to manate from them." Of course it does ınd will, but even more, I think, the ɔleasure of collecting them, of coming ıpon wonders one would never have ɔunted on getting, is transmitted hrough the show itself.

Sooner or later, all these works will find a place in the Morgan's drawers and portfolios, and occasionally in its cases or on its walls. But the exhibition is unlikely to be repeated. Pleasure is not an esthetic category much in philosophical prominence these days. Infrequency is not be confused with irrelevance, however, and the effervescent recollection of this show may sustain you through the heavy season ahead. □

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*, and invitations to many *Nation*-sponsored events.

For further information write or call Nancy Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS DESIRED

PARIS-BOUND Nation employee on research assignment seeks apartment sublet from late October through late November. Call Emily at (212) 242-8400.

NATION EMPLOYEE, quiet, responsible tenant, is looking for an apartment. Prefer downtown or Hoboken. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

NATION INTERN looking for a sublet. Prefer a place alone. September through January. Call Ted Jin at (212) 242-8400.

ART

BEETHOVEN PORTRAIT

ABSOLUTELY SPLENDID BEETHOVEN PORTRAIT by Boston artist, Michael Russo, available! Superb reproduction (fits 22 by 28-inch frame). Send $19.85 to:

Art in Music
5 (N) Pinepoint Drive, Bridgeport, CT 06606
(Satisfaction assured!)
GREAT HOLIDAY GIFT

BOOKS

BOOKS ON EXTRAORDINARY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS: anarchism, revolution, pacifism, etc. Catalogues available by subscription. Free Lance Books, Dept. N, Suite 1060, 163 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, NY 11201.

The Bible — a dirty book? You'll agree it is after reading *The X-Rated Bible* (456 pp.), available for $7.95 from: A. A. P., 2210 Hancock Dr., P.O. Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768

THE RIDDLE OF THE SANDS, Erskine Childers's spy novel has delighted many. Fewer know his own life story and his heroic effort for Irish freedom. Tom Cox's Damned Englishman addresses both. $14.95 from Emerald Isle Books, 84-53 Furmanville, Middle Village, NY 11379. Small quantity left of this first-edition title, so place your order promptly.

BOOKLETS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $4 to Vector Associates, Box 6215-B, Bellevue, WA 98008. Or request details.

CATALOGUES

SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE PRODUCTS FOR HOLIDAY GIFT-GIVING: Gift baskets; Appalachian and Third World crafts; cotton clothing; calendars; Nicaraguan coffee; toys; books; records—all through the Co-op America catalgue representing over 60 progressive businesses. Plus access to health insurance and investment opportunities. Send $1 to Co-op America, 2100 M Street N.W., Suite 310-3, Washington, DC 20063.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, psychodynamically oriented, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living, and community work. Apply now for August, September and October sessions.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 70 Greenwich Avenue, No. 559, New York, NY 10011. (212) 777-1197.

LEARN SPANISH IN COSTA RICA

Small classes of 2 to 3 students. Country setting near San Jose. Residence with a Costa Rican family. Immersion course at reasonable rates.

Call or write for information and references: Centro Linguistico Latinoamericano, Apartado 151, Alajuela, Costa Rica. (Phone 41-0261).

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in book #4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

CHESS-GAMBIT—Your board and pieces. 27 cards and instruction sheet. Lets you play your own game but adds an element of chance. Send $9.95 check or money order to Gambetto, Ltd., Box 5935, Chicago, IL 60680. Allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. (Illinois residents add 8% sales tax.)

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

ROLEX, BLACKJACK, craps, roulette style watches. $39 and up. Write: "Watches," Box 18254-TN, Wichita, KS 67218.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

ORGANIZATIONS

NEW ENGLAND ATHEIST: stay informed, meet others. Information $1. American Atheists, Box 147, East Walpole, MA 02032.

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

PERSONALS

INTELLIGENT, HANDSOME, financially independent, divorced Jewish professional man, youthful 53, 5' 9", 145 lbs, nonsmoker, wishes to meet intelligent, attractive, romantic, intellectual Jewish woman, 38-50, nonsmoker, who is warm, passionate and positive about life, has a good sense of humor, loves books, music, travel and the arts. Los Angeles. Nation Box 9.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

MEDICAL DIRECTOR for Planned Parenthood, Kalamazoo, Michigan, to provide medical direction, surgical procedures including first-trimester abortion and other reproductive health services in an exciting, academically oriented community. Nonprofit organization with a modern, state-approved, outpatient surgical facility.

Full or part-time possible with salary range of $30,000 to $40,000 for half-time. (Joint appointment with teaching institution possible for Board Certified, or eligible, OB-GYN. Salary $80,000 to $100,000). Benefit plan; malpractice insurance covered. Perfect opportunity for physician who prefers to practice medicine rather than administer practice. E.E.O. Contact Executive Director, Planned Parenthood, 4201 W. Michigan Avenue, Kalamazoo, MI 49007. (616) 372-1200.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The A.C.L.U. of Southern California and the A.C.L.U. Foundation of Southern California are seeking an executive director to administer and coordinate their legal, legislative, educational, field, fundraising and organizational activities.

The A.C.L.U. of Southern California is an affirmative-action employer. Women and racial and other minorities are encouraged to apply. Send resumes or nominations to A.C.L.U. Search, 345 North Rockingham Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90049.

Deadline November 1.

PROGRESSIVE LAW FIRM, Village area, New York City, seeking experienced legal or executive secretary with excellent typing and dictaphone skills. Needed immediately. Full benefits; salary $18,000 to $21,000. Call (212) 254-1111 ext. 21.

TEACH IN JAPAN. Practical advice, list of 200 offices and schools for living and working in Japan. $6 to Language Pacifica, 29 West Portal Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94127.

POSITIONS DESIRED

EXPERIENCED FREELANCE technical writer/editor moving to San Diego this fall. Seeking employment. Have own word processor, printer and modem. Write to: WRITE ON, Box 55, Shelton, CT 06484 or leave message at (203) 736-2778.

POSTERS

GENITALIA OF ANIMAL KINGDOM. Poster depicts 12 male organs from man to whale. Scientific but funny. $10. Poster C, Box 1348, New York, NY 10025.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY - TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

PUBLICATIONS

INDEXES OF THE NATION 1976 to 1980 are now available. All articles from this period are indexed by subject, author and title, with the book reviews and reviewers indexed separately. $6 per year, $8 for foreign delivery (price includes postage). Make check payable to The Nation and send order to: The Nation, Index, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Issues from 1976 to 1980 are also available.

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40. Make checks/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Hiss," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TRANSCRIPT AND TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at Town Hall on October 20, 1983, can be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Make checks/money order payable to The Nation Institute and send to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. If you'd like more information, call (212) 242-8400.

UNIVERSITY-MILITARY CONNECTIONS is the theme of the current issue of the Magazine of Social Anarchism. $3 from Box N-4833, Baltimore, MD 21211.

REAGAN SAYS
Less government is better
Business is anti-government

Fact: Despite Reagan's words, conservatives and big business DON'T oppose Big Government. Find out why in the October/November edition of OFARI'S BIMONTHLY.

$1.50
Box 2368, Inglewood, CA 90305

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call (805) 687-6000, ext GH-3596 for information.

RECIPES

SPECIAL JAPANESE RECIPES! Beef, seafood sukiyakies, shrimp, vegetable tempura, beef yakiniku, and chicken karaage. Super delicious dips and sauces. Great party food, too. $2.50 to Kikue Small, 64 Blake Road, Brookline, MA 02146.

EASY—EGGLESS CHOCOLATE MOUSSE, incredible versatile marinara sauce (italian tomato sauce) plus much more valuable culinary information. Sned $3 to C.G.F. Service, 177 Riverside Avenue, Newport Beach, CA 92663.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RELIGION

36 + BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS, 49 Biblical Absurdities, More! $3. Crusade Publications, Box 200-U, Redmond, WA 98052.

JESUS FICTIONAL—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4. Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98008.

RESEARCH

FACTS FAST! Complete database searching at reasonable rates. Horizon Research, 2966 Diamond, Suite 160, San Francisco, CA 94131; (415) 585-7764.

SERVICES

TRENDSPOTTERS
THE TREND ANALYSTS
Business Environment Forecasting
at Affordable Rates
High Tech a Specialty
FREE Special Offer to New Clients
(703) 885-3417
Box 55, Woodrum Station, Staunton, VA 24401

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. People-to-people, one-week trip delegations from Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, or join us in Mexico City. 1985 departures: October 14, November 4, December 2. Information: Alice McGrath, Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

MEXICO VACATION. Friendly northerners welcomed at Mary and Cedric Belfrage's home. Garden, pool, library, good food, good company, privacy. Apartado. 630, Cuernavaca, Morelos.

T-SHIRTS

NON-CONPHORMIST???
Send a signal.

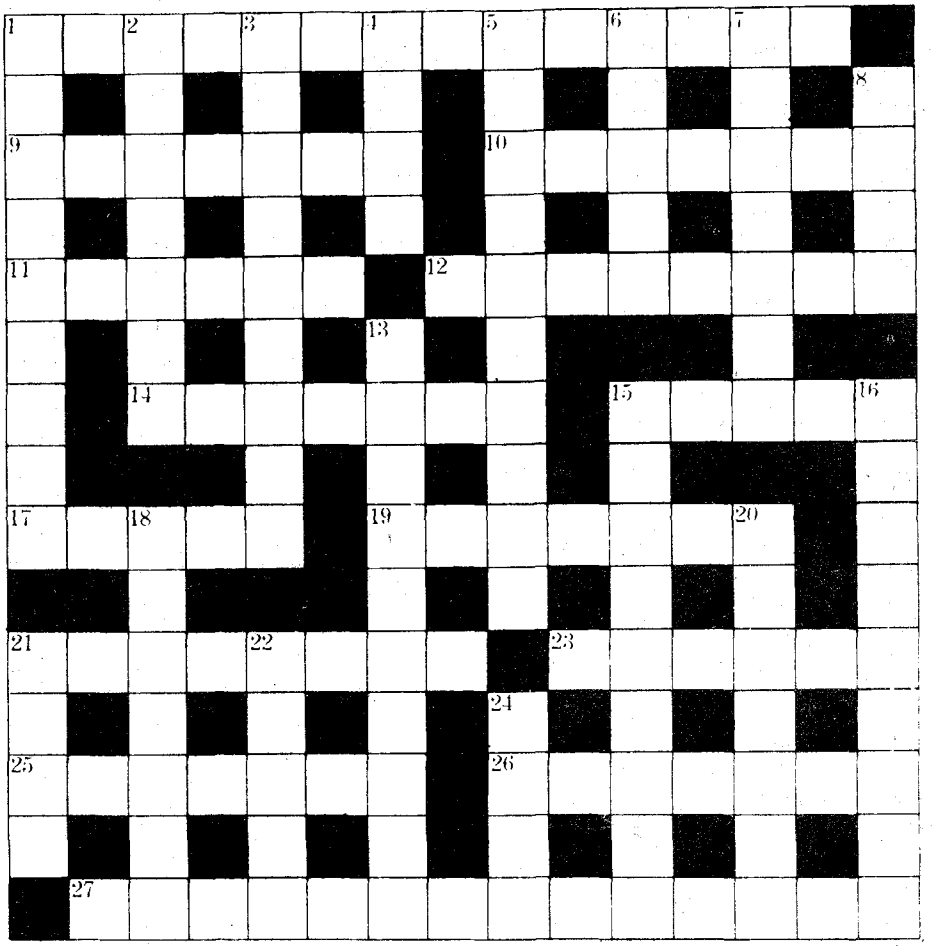
Wear or give a mispelled Ivy League T-shirt! HARVERD, PRINCENTON, COLUNBIA, DARTMUTH, YAEL, BROUN, CORNEL, PENNSLYVANIA. College colors. Sizes: S, M, L, XL. Check or M.O. for $11.00 (post paid) **IVY, PO Box 857, Old Bridge, NJ 08857**

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2072

A	N	T	I	P	H	L	O	G	I	S	T	I	C	
F		R		L		U		A		I				A
F	A	I	T	A	C	C	O	M	P	L	I			M
A		U		I		E		B		O		S		A
I	M	M	I	N	E	N	T	L	Y		C	A	N	T
R		V		T		T		E		U		I		T
S	P	I	R	I	T		O	R	D	N	A	N	C	E
O		R		F		M		S		I		T		R
F	L	A	T	F	O	O	T		U	N	E	S	C	O
S		T		S		N		S		S		W		F
T	I	E	R		T	O	T	H	E	P	O	I	N	T
A		S		P		C		I		I		T		A
T			F	A	L	L	E	N	A	R	C	H	E	S
E				R		E		T		E		I		T
	C	O	R	R	E	S	P	O	N	D	E	N	C	E

Crossword Puzzle No. 2073

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 15 across, 11 and 13 Sounds as though the rule of such as Carlos comes down heavily on the simple. (3,4,2,5,5,6,2,3,5)
9 Taking the short way, it's no good to the press boss! (Presumably things are even after being this.) (7)
10 As they say, beat, surrounded by thousands, which might prove highly annoying. (7)
11 See 1 across
12 What the buzzer might do when the sailor comes in, getting off the mark. (8)
14 Nothing in the corner? Not exactly, but one might be trying to get you to sleep. (7)
15 See 1 across
17 An unfair fight might be one, but a neutral wouldn't have so behaved. (5)
19 The U.S.S.R. has during the revolution seen cavalrymen, obviously. (7)
21 It has similarity in form, and might be oh, so prim! (8)
23 The French leading actor around it shows something less than a fresh quality. (6)
25 I may have retina trouble, which causes a certain amount of inactivity. (7)
26 They evidently don't lead out of town, but predators might make them. (7)
27 Philip Nolan could, on American soil, but it might prove a world of dreams. (5-5,4)

DOWN

1 Chopped meat, and chopped meats as well, show those on the same side. (9)
2 Part of the leg I actually regard with sorrow! (7)
3 Some prefer it to chocolate, but did Gabriel take it all in? (5,4)
4 In France, one comes up, of the sitting type, perhaps. (4)
5 Not an evening gown, certainly—for the retiring type, rather. (10)
6 The North Star is following this? (Bear with it, being all white.) (5)
7 12 in it, I always say—definitely 12! (7)
8 In a state of anticipation, travel with a little silver around. (4)
13 See 1 across
15 If one is most sincere, one might imitate something, it is said. (9)
16 Caught in the act, or merely incredulous? (9)
18 500? Ten? 100? See, with some difficulty, what the bishop has! (7)
20 The potentate takes a wife thereof. (7)
21 Exists more than once as one with a religious following. (4)
22 It's very unusual to take the wrong route! (5)
24 In place of a great musical opener, according to Mussorgsky. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LOCAL ONE UNION AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS LABEL NEW YORK X-523

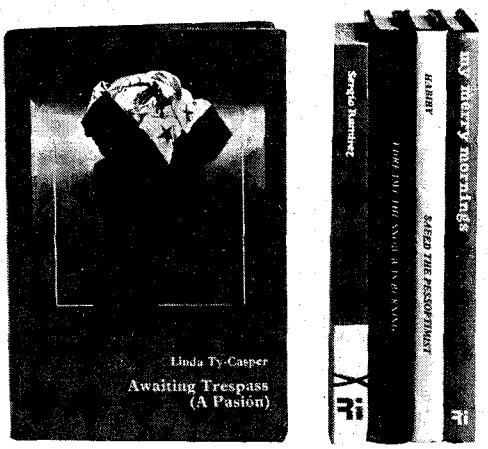
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS FROM BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Eye-opening literature, great reading, from places in the news every day. Yours by subscription from Readers International.

Each hardcover volume just $7.95.

(regularly to $14.95)



Enter today's Manila: Tyranny makes Filipinos exiles in their own country. Linda Ty-Casper's suspenseful novel, *Awaiting Trespass,* cannot be published there for political reasons. The story of a family in mourning mirrors the nation's search for reason and nobility in irrational and ignoble times.

Now the *real* Poland: Rising hopes disappear in a cloud of tear gas and prison doors clang shut on the activists. Detained and censored at home, Janusz Anderman compels us into an eerie, Dickensian Warsaw in the cinematic prose of *Poland Under Black Light.*

Next is the drama of South America, as two women defy state terror seeking their missing children. At last in English is Marta Traba's fine novel *Mothers and Shadows*: "Fierce, intelligent, moving," says El Tiempo of Bogota.

These and other such ground-breaking contemporary works are available now by subscription in exceptional English translations through Readers International (RI).

Says *In These Times:* "Like a magazine subscription, it's a gamble—but it could be more than worth it, for its introduction to worlds we might never have known existed."

"A splendid and important enterprise and worth supporting," says London's Financial Times.

Thousands of RI subscribers now receive a new book every two months: Hardcover editions at the special price of $7.95 plus $1.00 for postage. (Regularly priced from $9.95 to $14.95, the savings are considerable.)

A world-wide Advisory Board helps select the books. And as the Kansas City Star points out: *"The [former] ties of the founding editors to Amnesty International and Index on Censorship. . .ensure contact with artists not beloved by their governments. The world can learn more from them than any politician. Thanks to RI, that will now be possible."*

Subscribe for a good read every two months and to help bring some of today's best writers into English. Says A. Whitney Ellsworth, Publisher of The New York Review of Books: *"Readers International is exciting: Good books—and a good cause."* Return the coupon to receive your first volume.

PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED TO CRITICAL ACCLAIM

To Bury Our Fathers by Sergio Ramírez. "Required reading for any who claims a thorough understanding of Nicaragua." —The Nation. *A Cadre School Life* by Yang Jiang. "Outstanding, quite unlike anything else from 20th century China." —Times Literary Supplement. *My Merry Mornings* by Ivan Klíma. "Charming and comic stories about Prague, irrepressibly cheerful and successfully written." —Financial Times. *A Ride on the Whirlwind* by Sipho Sepamla. "Finely written novel [whose characters] rescue their own humanity from the whirlwind of violence." —Anti-Apartheid News.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS *(Retail prices shown)*

PHILIPPINES: *Awaiting Trespass* by Linda Ty-Casper, $14.95. POLAND: *Poland Under Black Light* by Janusz Anderman, $12.50. LATIN AMERICA: *Mothers and Shadows* by Marta Traba, $14.95. JAPAN: *Fire from the Ashes,* stories edited by Kenzaburo Oe, $14.95. ARGENTINA: *A Funny Dirty Little War* by Osvaldo Soriano, $12.50. IRAN: *Voices of Courage* by Amir Taheri, $14.95. SOUTH AFRICA: *Fools and Other Stories* by Njabulo Ndebele, $14.95.

READERS INTERNATIONAL
PO Box 959 Columbia, LA 71418

Please begin my subscription to RI's 1985-86 series with *Awaiting Trespass—A Pasión* at the $7.95 subscriber price plus $1.00 for postage. Send RI's latest book at the same price every other month. At any time I may cancel simply by writing you.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ $8.95 enclosed. Bill my ☐ Mastercard ☐ VISA

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

☐ Charge each volume as received to my credit card.

SPECIAL SAVINGS: Prepay a year's subscription for six books at just $6.00 per book plus $1.00 postage. ☐ I enclose my check for $42.00. ☐ Bill my credit card.

TNA 86

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO INFOTRAC
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED